

*THE
CASTLE
OF
KENILWORTH*



REV. E. H. KNOWLES M.A.

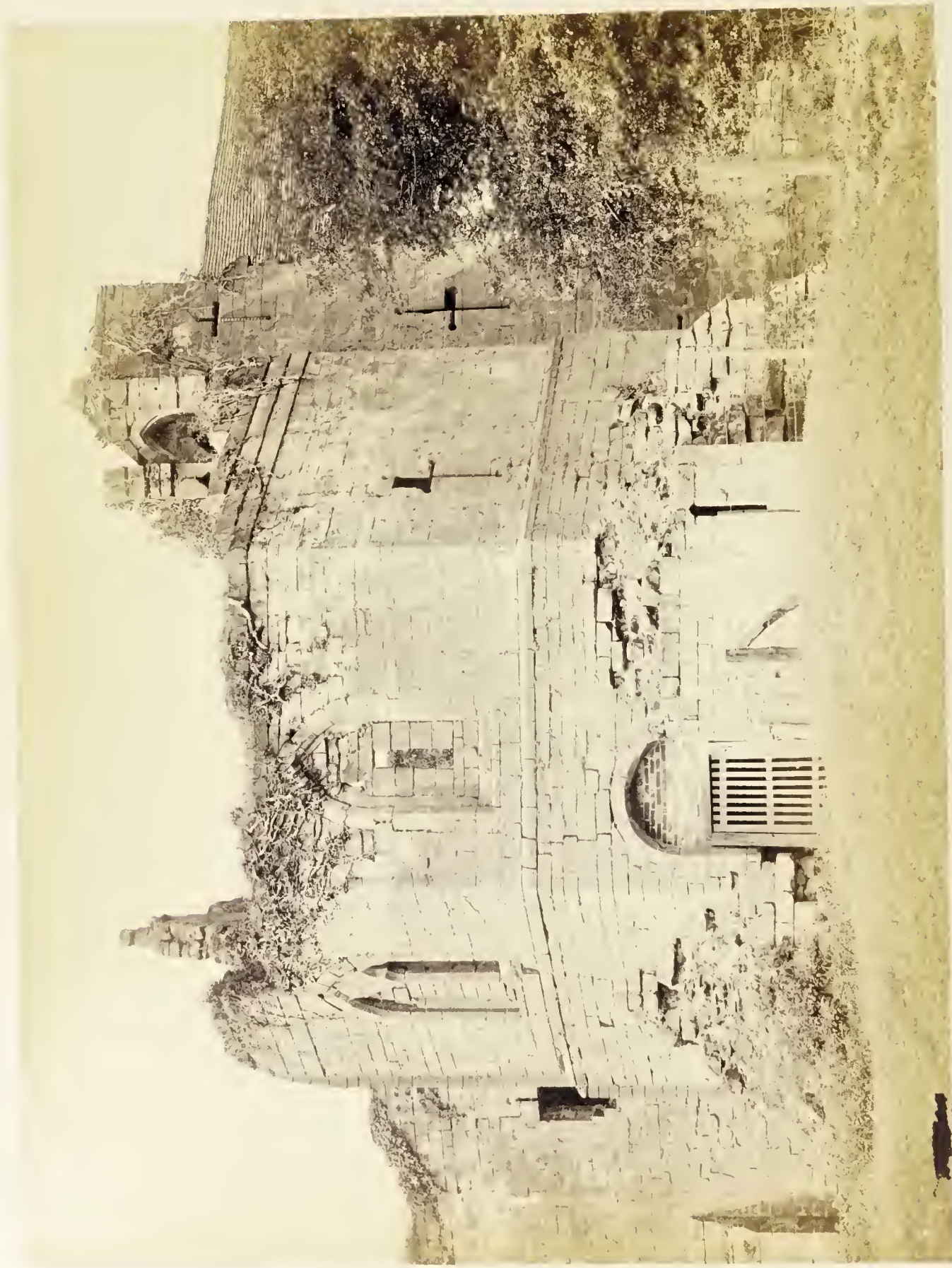




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WATER TOWER (EARLY 13TH CENTURY).

THE
CASTLE OF KENILWORTH.

A HAND-BOOK FOR VISITORS.

BY
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"Kenilworth, a large and beautiful strong Castle of Warwickshire."—J. COLLIER.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

MY LORD,

A trustworthy guide to your great Castle has long been needed: and believing that I possess some special qualifications for the task (a genuine love of ancient remains, some knowledge of old stone-work, and the great advantage of close neighbourhood) I have undertaken to write this book; and now I respectfully dedicate it to you.

Your Lordship's

obedient Servant,

E. H. KNOWLES.

KENILWORTH,

October, 1871.

TO THE READER.

READER,

I have been asked to be your guide. and I have taken great pains to explain the subject to you: but any corrections or hints will be most welcome.

You must treat this as a hand-book: whatever I have added to my history of the stone-work, has been borrowed from others or written by myself, as subordinate and secondary, simply to satisfy your wants as an intelligent visitor. My researches are very second-hand, for the most part.

I cannot romance about the past; so, if my dry pages tire you, you may refresh yourself with 'Ivanhoe' or 'Kenilworth,'—but then you must replace Front de Boeuf by a Statesman, and Amy Robsart by some heroine who is *not* known to have died 15 years before her coming hither.

For more copious history go to 'Dugdale;' for more general views of Ancient Domestic Architecture read Parker's valuable work and Viollet le Duc's admirable Dictionary. And consult my Index for some additional notes.

E. H. K.



Plaster Work from Leicester's
Buildings. 1571.





WATER TOWER.

A Bastion of the 2nd Age.

PREFACE.*

THE fortress of an English Baron in the 12th Century consisted principally of a Keep† or massive tower in which he and his family lived, calculated to defy all the known methods of war by the thickness of its walls, the difficulties of its one or more portals, the smallness of its lower windows, and the strength of its earthwork, palisades,



VIEW OF NORMAN KEEP.

Description of Norman Keep:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Chamber, with 'Lift' in the wall. | D. Chapel Windows. |
| B. Small Court, with external Staircase. | E. Small Entrance Tower 'probably rather later' |
| C. Palisade. | F. Swing Drawbridge. |

* I must here confess my debt to Mr. Parker's "Domestic Architecture," from which nearly the whole substance of this preface is derived.

† Les donjons Normands sont des tanières plutôt que des édifices.—Sulky dens rather than houses.—*Le Duc*.

I must ask the reader's forgiveness for the attempt at a Norman Keep, which I could not make perfectly accurate, and yet choose to insert for those who are out of the way of seeing better things.

and fosse. Beyond the fosse were one or more barbican towers, and the earthwork itself had possibly bastions* of stone. The keep had its entrance protected by a projecting turret, or by a strongly walled court, and the chief door was usually on the upper floor, nearly the whole of which was taken up by the Great Hall, divided into aisles by pillars of wood or stone. Here, in rude fashion, the Lord and his retainers fed and slept.

The Chapel was often a small apartment, but large enough for the Priest to say mass in it, placed in the most protected part possible, and looking eastward.

The lower floor served as cellar, brewery, storehouse, and perhaps in time of assault even as stable.

The cooking seems often, if not usually, to have been done out of doors, in the court-yard.

In the latter years of the 12th Century,† or the beginning of the 13th, the Norman family began to be tired of such strait quarters. Preserving the keep, if it were habitable, they threw out a line of fortification (bastions, curtain-wall, and fosse), outside the original limits; and, these once secured, they substituted an inner wall of stone for the old earthwork and palisade, forming out of the old enclosure an inner bailey or court; and by partitions dividing the outer space into such other courts as seemed fit. The approaches to the Castle were now scientifically guarded, and more than one tower with its drawbridge secured the passage of the new moat.

And the ampler space thus gained was made useful by giving to the officers of the garrison the towers to live in, and by erecting round the inside of the wall, workshops and sheds and small dwellings of wood‡ or stone.

The wood in process of time made way for stone, and different apartments were built along the line of the fortification wall, which were often inhabited by the owner of the Castle himself, when fear of an approaching enemy did not deter him from consulting his own ease and convenience.

Castles of this period had at most two gates besides posterns. (Le Duc.)

Towards the end of the 13th Century, another step in luxury is often found to have been taken.

Then (but not in Kenilworth as we have it now until 100 years later)§ the Hall was made the principal building, with buttery, pantry, and kitchen office grouped near it: the solar or lord's room, and the new and larger chapel being not far off.

As time went on, the fortress became, by slow degrees, a palace, breaking through its old walls with ornamental buildings, in which less and less attention was paid to defensive schemes.

The growth in civilization and luxury was now considerable; drainage was well attended to (*i. e.* from 1220 downwards); wainscoting much used in state apartments; small trim gardens kept in the quadrangles or courts; glass more used in domestic work; forks were not unknown (at least for fruit).

* Remains of one early Tower have been found in the wall of the Inner Bailey of Kenilworth, not far from (E). Plan III.

† See Le Duc's account of Richard the First's Castle on the Seine, his Chateau "Gaillard," (*i. e.* the 'Sans Souci' or 'Sauey' fortress) for some idea how military engineering was being improved towards the end of the 12th Century, and specially by Richard.

‡ Sometimes, even fireplaces and all were of plaster-work, a fact to be remembered often, when no traces of fireplaces are found. Place was often found in the larger kitchens for one or more forges.

§ The roofs of the old keeps, being mostly of oaken shingles (*cindulac*), were often out of repair at this time. Kenilworth keep was repaired in 1233.—*Cf. Parker's Dom. Arch.* 1, p. 58.

The disrepair of oaken shingles was owing doubtless only to the haste with which they were cut and used; for if properly seasoned they will last a very long time.

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Ms. A. H. enb. v. 16. 16. 16.

KENILWORTH CASTLE

Age of Polica Dec 1120-1170 AD

MAP II

PLAN OF THE CASTLE

1. Upper Pool
2. New Wall
3. Old Wall
4. Chapel
5. Kitchen
6. Hall
7. Gate
8. Tower
9. Moat
10. Ditch
11. Road
12. Field
13. Wood
14. Marsh
15. Hill
16. River
17. Bridge
18. Church
19. Manor
20. Park



KENILWORTH CASTLE
Age of Stone Enceintes 1170-1390

W. & N. Blackman & Co.

THE PLANS.



THE CASTLE OF KENILWORTH is an excellent type of the fortress of an English noble, having (1.) rare earthworks, and a noble keep, with (2.) some fine remains and interesting traces of its second age, and with (3.) grand ruins as well of the Edwardian as of the Elizabethan styles.

1. PALISADE AGE.

Plan (I.) will give the reader all that is known of Geoffrey de Clinton's* work (before 1136). Luckily (a fact, I believe, not hitherto noticed) a portion of his fosse and the South wall of his barbican by the pool remain—the former partly filled up by Hawkesworth, (17th Century)—the latter incorporated with the Early English wall of later date, but easily recognisable by its three curious windows.

Neither the 1st. nor the 2nd. Plan pretends to absolute accuracy, but it is thought that both will assist the reader in understanding the growth of the Castle from the first.

2. THE STONE-WALL AGE.

Plan (II.) shews the growth of the Castle during the second period (1180—say—1300.)

The second Geoffrey de Clinton, son and heir to the first, began the changes here noted (at least it seems so†) about 1180; building Lunn's Tower and digging a new moat to the northward, so as to extend the enclosure of the Castle.

* The Castle is said to have been *founded* 1120. It may be remarked here, that in spite of changes, similar but far more extensive and complicated, the ground plan of the Tower of London still preserves a trace of the *first* line of circumvallation. Some have thought that the keep dates only from King John's reign, but as I have shewn elsewhere, this opinion is supported by no evidence whatever, either from stonework or from documents. The remains of the original Norman fosse are quite enough to put such a view out of court at once.

† We learn from Dugdale, that the founder had but *one* pool. His grandson releases all his rights in the *pools* about 1190. Indeed, any one who will examine Plan II, will see that the lower pool is a second thought, a necessary corollary from the extension of the accommodation and the water defences. The E. moat must issue somewhere, and by spreading it over the square space left, the south wall was protected. From this, down the valley for a considerable distance, there extended at first, a long marsh, and in after times, a succession of long pools belonging to the priory or abbey.

Much money was laid out between 1212 and 1217, upon the new plan of fortification, (v. app. 1.) The earthwork and palisade of the inner enceinte were exchanged for a stone wall of considerable strength. The older parts of The Water Tower, the Swan and Mortimer Towers were erected. Probably, however, part of the outer wall near the pool, was not yet completed, and a stockade sufficed for some years; at least, in Henry the III^d's reign, (1242), the south defences were re-built, and, indeed, some part of the eastern outer walls is so carelessly put together, as to make me ascribe it to one of the De Montforts, who probably completed the defences in a hurry* (after 1255.)

The lower pool belongs certainly to this second age. No traces of the *timber* buildings of this period remain, (beyond some put-log holes, which are not quite easy to interpret); possibly they were some of them destroyed by Simon de Montfort, who liked a low curtain-wall and a clear space inside, that he might ply his mangonels and petrariae with effect.

3. THE PALACE AGE.

Plan (III.) gives the Castle in its last and present state.

John of Gaunt, in the reign of Richard II., (about 1392) began to re-build the kitchens, buttery, pantry, hall, &c. Then breaking through the inner Early English wall, he built a range of state-rooms with a grand tower along its south front; and repaired some of the outer defences; employing, probably, nearly the same gang of men on all. Lastly, from 1570-1575, Robert Dudley added greatly to the accommodation of the Castle—rearing from the bottom of the ancient moat his picturesque buildings, and adding a third entrance, with a fine gateway tower—but† destroying much that was infinitely more artistic and precious than anything that he built.

Minor changes will be noticed elsewhere in their order.

It is satisfactory to find that the principal features of the building (though parts are now in a dangerous state) have not suffered *very* much during the last 150 years. Buck's views (about 1720) shew them nearly as they are now, so far as we can judge, excepting the roof of the Water Tower, and the steps to the Great Hall.

The fine Church and buildings of the Priory have alas suffered far more severely. People still living remember much that has now perished.

A fanciful picture has been painted of the Castle, as seen from the east, with highly ornate terraces, and other accessories; which undoubtedly are pretty, but unhappily are false.

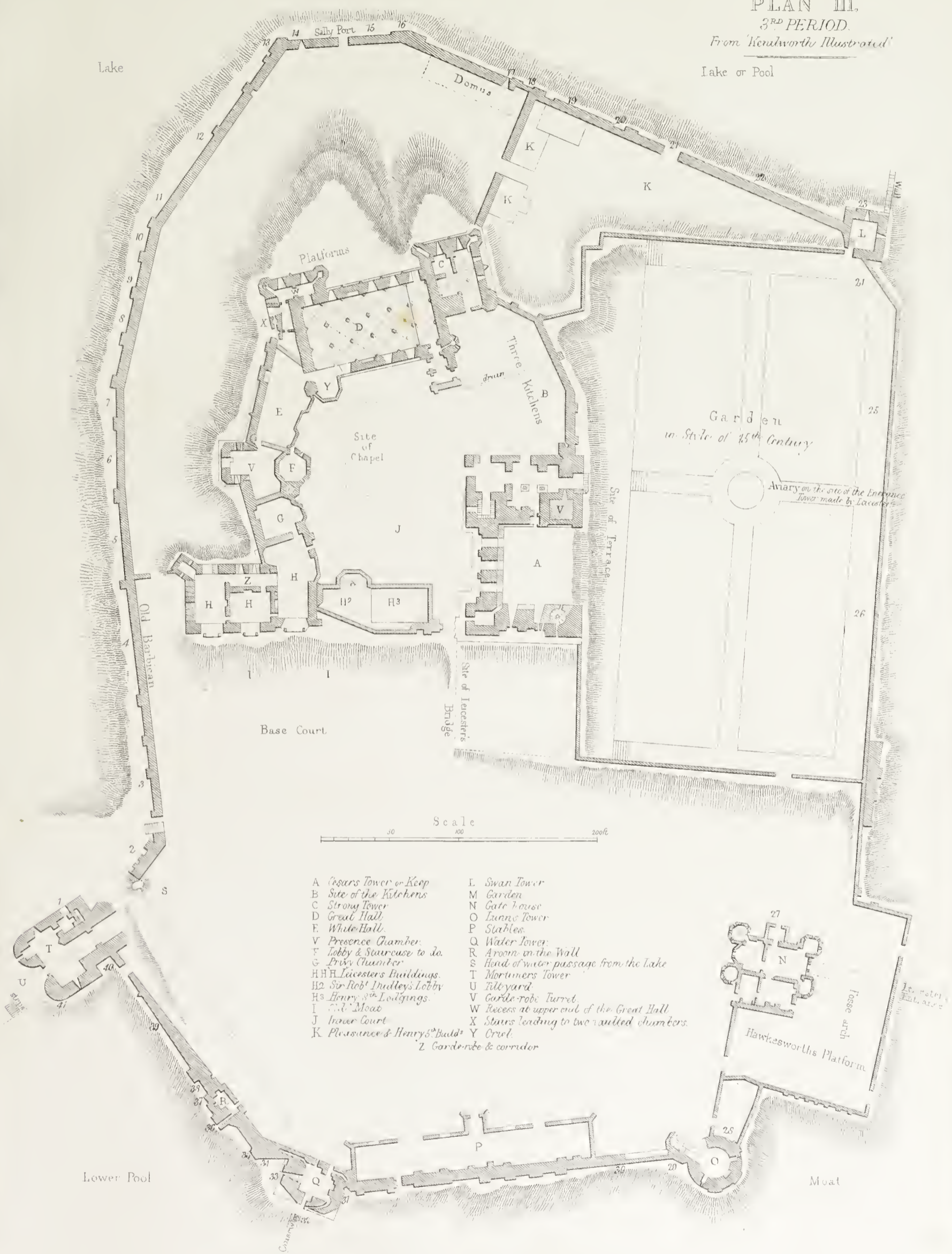
* In some of this work the inside of the wall is mere rubbish, with scarcely any mortar; but this is not surprising, as the difficulty of getting waggon-loads of lime over a few miles of bad road must have been great, even in the quietest times and with plenty of men. During the necessary repair (1868) tons of loose stone came down at once.

† I think, however, from the places in which some fine fragments have been found, that John of Gaunt did a good deal of mischief to older work of 1230-1330. They had been used as rubble.

PLAN III.

3RD PERIOD.

From 'Kenilworth Illustrated'



- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Towers Tower or Keep | L. Swan Tower |
| B. Site of the Kitchens | M. Garden |
| C. Strong Tower | N. Gate House |
| D. Great Hall | O. Lunatic Tower |
| E. White Hall | P. Stables |
| F. Presence Chamber | Q. Water Tower |
| G. Lobby & Staircase to do. | R. Room in the Wall |
| H. Proxy Chamber | S. Head of water passage from the Lake |
| H ¹ H ² H ³ Leicester's Buildings | T. Mortimer's Tower |
| H ² Sir Robt Dudley's Lobby | U. Tiltyard |
| H ³ Henry 8 th Lodgings | V. Garde-robe Tower |
| I. Old Moat | W. Recess at upper end of the Great Hall |
| J. Inner Court | X. Stairs leading to two vaulted chambers |
| K. Pleasure & Henry's Build | Y. Crier |
| Z. Garde-robe & corridor | |

CHAPTER II.

NAME OF KENILWORTH.

If Alfrieus (see Camden) be right in translating 'worth' as 'praedium' a 'farm' ('homestead') or 'possession,' then 'Kenilworth' may reasonably be supposed to mean the farm or estate of Kenelm, some Saxon thane. Respecting the orthography, the vulgar Killingworth seems to be a mere corruption. Dugdale gives the old form as Chinewrde, but in Norman documents it is Clinilewřda, Chenilleworda.*

In Saxon times and earlier, there was, as Dugdale writes, no fortress here; the nearest one was on Hom-hill, near Stoneleigh Abbey, which was demolished in the wars between King Edmund and Canute the Dane.

There are probably forty† or fifty villages and towns in England, whose names end in 'worth,' and their sites do not bear out Verstegan's definition of that word, as 'the land in the fork of two rivers, or a peninsula in a river.' He instances divers places in Germany, Thonawerd (Donauwerth), Keyserswerd, &c. See Lancham's learning in his letter, and the note there.

Kenilworth is said in Domesday "jacere ad stanlei manerium regis."

CHAPTER III.

SHORT LIST OF THE SUCCESSIVE OWNERS OF
KENILWORTH CASTLE.

About 1135. Geoffrey de Clinton, the founder.‡

1165. The Crown. Henry of Anjou being no friend to private Castles.

About 1175. Geoffrey de Clinton, the son.§

1181. The Crown.

* Du Cange prints it by mistake as Chenilenede, putting 'ne' for 'wr.'

† As Bedworth, Kibworth, Bosworth, Lutterworth, Wandsworth, Tamworth, Petworth, Warkworth: they are widely spread, but principally in the middle counties.

‡ A Roger Clinton built part of Lichfield Castle, 1140.

§ As appears from a charter of his (Kenilworth Illustrated), Dugdale says, he was possessed of a great estate, holding seventeen Knight's fees of the Earl of Warwick. Spelman gives this table, eighteen Aerae = one Bovate, eight Bovates = one Carucate or hide, eight Carucates = one Knight's fee. But the Aera was not our 'acre;' it varied, being sometimes only 2560 square feet, or $\frac{1}{17}$ of our statute acre: then a Knight's fee would be some seventy acres of arable land.

- Before 1200. ? Henry de Clinton,* grandson.
The Crown.
- ? 1217. Henry de Clinton, great grandson.
The Crown.
1254. Simon de Montfort, by grant.
1266. The Crown, by capture.
1266. Edmund, Earl of Leicester, Derby, (and Lancaster), by grant.
- † Thomas, his son, beheaded, 1325, whose brother Henry had his revenge.
1322. The Crown, by confiscation.
1327. Henry, brother to Thomas.
1346. Henry, son of Henry.
1362. Blanche, second daughter of Henry=John of Gaunt.
1392. Henry, her son.
- ‡ § And so it came to the Crown again.
1563. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by grant.
1588. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, by gift for his life.
1589. || Sir Robert, son of the E. of Leicester.
The Crown, by confiscation.
1611. But Prince Henry bought it for £14,500, of which, only £3,000 seem to have been paid.
1612. Prince Charles.
1621. The Lord Carey (by lease).

* "In the beginning of King John's time, Henry de Clinton (grandson to the founder), released to the King all his rights to the same; as also in the woods and pools, and whatever else belonged thereto, excepting what he had possession of at the death of Henry II.: which Henry de Clinton had issue Henry; who being in the rebellion against King John (at the later end of his reign) submitted himself, and returned to obedience in 1218, second Henry III., assuring the King of his future fidelity; whereupon the Sheriff had command to give him livery of those lands in Kenilworth, of his inheritance by right from his father."

† In 1278, was held the Round Table, and Dugdale's 'famous concourse of noble persons from S. Matthew's Eve to the morrow of S. Michael. Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, being the chief and the occasion thereof.' *Quære*, was he then lodged in the Tower that bears his name?

‡ The 'lively and unlucky' Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, was imprisoned here, under care of Sir Thomas Stanley, between 1441 and 1447. After her condemnation for treason and witchcraft in 1441, and her public penance in Saint Paul's, she was conveyed to Chester Castle, and thence to Kenilworth. In 1447, Humphrey was accused (among other charges) of conspiring to deliver her out of prison here. (Rapin cites Rymer's *Fœdera* Tom. xi., p. 45.) Dr. Doran, in *Notes and Queries*, second Ser. xi., p. 218, says, that she had an annuity of 100 marks for her support, and other payments are recorded in her behalf. Her prison house is still pointed out, viz., the Crypt under the Chancel of St. Germanns, Isle of Man. This building was used as a place of punishment for persons under ecclesiastical censure, as late as the episcopate of Bishop Wilson. Within the Cathedral-fortress of Peel Castle Dame Eleanor died and was buried, 1454. She is said to haunt the place. A courteous note from W. Jackson, Esq., of Fleatham House, Saint Bees, informs me, that the skeleton of a tall woman has been lately found between the crypt vaulting and choir pavement of St. Germanns, and 'has been for special reasons supposed to be that of Eleanor Cobham.'

§ It appears that Sir John Dudley, between 1530 and 1540, held some office in Kenilworth, the same indeed that Sir Andrew Flumoke had held, to whom Henry VIII. gave the Abbey lands. Adlard (*Amye Robsart*, p.p. 104, 105). But this does not shew that he had the Castle for his own.

|| Here his daughter Douglas was baptized, June 5th, 1600.

1626. The Careys, &c., by grant.
 About 1649. Colonel Hawkesworth and others, by grant from Cromwell.
 1660. The daughters of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, "intercede and prevail to hold the said manors as their father did before them, by lease or leases from the Crown." (Best's account, MS. 1716.)
 1685. Lawrence, Lord Hyde, Baron of Kenilworth, Earl of Rochester, by grant. Henry, Lord Hyde, Baron of Kenilworth, Earl of Rochester and Clarendon. His grand daughter Jane=William Capel, Earl of Essex. Charlotte, her daughter=Thomas Villiers, younger brother of William, Earl of Jersey, in whom the Earldom of Clarendon was revived, 1776.
 1786. Thomas.
 1824. John Charles, his brother.
 1838. George William Frederick, their nephew.
 1870. Edward Hyde, his eldest son.

LIST OF ROYAL VISITS.

1265. *Henry the III., Prince Edward, and Richard, King of the Romans, detained here by Simon de Montfort.
 1266. Henry the III. at the Siege.
 1326. †Edward II., is brought hither a prisoner.
 1377. John of Gaunt retired hither with his suite.
 Henry, Prince of Wales, writes to his father, Henry IV., "Eserit en v^{re} chastel de Kenilworth."
 1414. Henry V., kept his Lent here—read Henry V., Act i., Sec. 1, 2.
 1437. Henry VI., kept Christmas here.
 1449. Henry VI. and his Queen removed hither because of Cade's rebellion.
 1450. Henry VI. and his Queen spent the Tuesday after Michaelmas here—read 2 Henry VI., Act iv., Sec. 9.
 1456-7. Henry VI. was here.
 1483-4. King Richard III.
 1487. Henry VII. celebrated Witsuntide here.
 1493. Henry VII. and his Queen.
 Henry VIII.
 1566. Queen Elizabeth.

*The King's sister, the Countess, offered them "all the solace she could."

† Here he received the news "that in a Parliament held at Westminster on the morrow after twelf day, he was deposed, and his son, young Edward, elected King in his stead, being then but fourteen years of age. Hence about Palm Sunday following (April 5th), under custody of Sir Thomas Gourney, (not Berkley as in Kenilworth Illustrated,) and of Sir John Maltravers, he was hurried privately to Berkley Castle in Gloucestershire, and there most barbarously murdered, September 21st.

1568.*	Queen Elizabeth.
1572.†	„ „
1575.	„ „
1617.	James I.
1619-21.	Prince Henry (Mr. Best's account).
1624.	Prince Charles.
1642.	Charles I.
1644.	Charles I.

CHAPTER IV.

ROADS TO THE CASTLE.

(SEE MAP 1.)

The road from Warwick and Leamington Priors has possibly been altered; yet it certainly approached the Brays as it does to-day. The nature of the ground however was different. A great part of the way lay through dense woods, and where a stream had to be crossed, a deepish ford as at Chesford, or a swamp‡ as here must be faced.

The road from Coventry led over sounder land, but was unsafe for travellers from the thickness of its woods;§ it approached the Castle as it does now by what has long been the High Street, but another part branched off to the north into Redfen Lane.

The Birmingham road (or Redfen lane) makes a turn over what was swampy ground beyond the head of De Clinton's north pool; then it crosses the line of the high level water course (as altered by his successors), and runs in a straight line for the North Portal.||

When Henry I. ennobled and enriched his chamberlain and treasurer, that he might secure, as it were, a nucleus of loyal support in this county, the track-roads through this dense country soon assumed new importance, and De Clinton, while he chose perhaps

* See note in Notices of Robert Dudley —The Lady of the Lake forgets the visit in 1568. (Princely Pleasures.) —See extracts from the Black Book of the Warwick Corporation, in *Kenilworth Illustrated*; and Strickland's *Life of Elizabeth*.

† The French envoys came with the Queen on this visit in 1572.

‡ Till the Priory pool was made, and even then probably a ford sufficed.

§ In 1250, six acres of underwood were cut down for the security of passengers, on the road between Coventry and Warwick.

|| Along the present road may still be seen traces of an old paved way, along which the high level channel (1135?) ran, to fill the northern moats, and to make the lake water more manageable in time of flood.

the best possible military position for the defence of his house, secured the command over them; and his successors had no rivals hereabouts, except (for 150 years) the Templars at Temple Balsall, (Henry II.—Edward II.) whose beautiful work there has happily survived, shewing a fine E. English basement, (about 1220) with a glorious Early Decorated superstructure, built late in Edward the 1st's reign.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARTHWORKS AND POOLS.

Plan (I.) gives the great dam, and the earthen tête-du-pont which guarded it. Plan (II.) shews the later moat and lower pool.

When (about 1120) the estate of Kenilworth was given to Geoffrey de Clinton, he constructed a dam across the valley, so as to form a lake or pool half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad, (containing about 111 acres,) and some 20 feet deep, having an outlet below, at Z, which was managed by sluices.*

The road from Warwick entered the precincts where the round-fronted† towers and curtain-wall still stand (added early in Henry III's reign). The visitor crossed the moat or mill-brook, as it is called from there having been a mill at the stone dam, (X.

Brays. vide Map II.) into the Brays,‡ a pleasant meadow within the fortress, surrounded by the earthwork, watch-towers, and stockade, and by the mill-brook and the channel from the lake, traces of which are left in the end of the (so called) 'Tiltyard.'

§ Floodgate A second draw-bridge admitted him through the Gallery Tower into the
Tower. Tiltyard, as the top of the dam|| is now and has long been called, but I think

* To fill the fosse outside his grand Braye or Tête-du-pont, Clinton brought a millrace from a reservoir, which he made within Wedgnoek Park, near Fern Hill, with a fine dam, which, though Hawkesworth (?) cut it in two, is in good preservation. Again, to fill the north and east ditches, he brought the high level channel from the north, (see plan I.) but this was diverted by his successor, about 1190.

† An early English building (about 1220.) Successor probably to a merely temporary tower of timber.

‡ Mr. Robinson, in his Essay on the Military Architecture of this county, derives the name from Braile, the old military term for an outwork beyond the precincts, defended by palisades. But the reader will find this definition from Le-Duc to be decisive. Braie—"most frequently a palisaded work, strengthened at intervals by watch-towers to protect sentinels."—Some-times it was nearly equivalent to foreclose, lice, &c., and was close to the outer wall. But the usual sense is exactly applicable here; and it is pleasant to find the old name so faithfully kept. See Laneham's letter, where the word Braiz is ordinarily misinterpreted. Note that Laneham says of it, "which (for the length, largeness, and use, as well it may so serve,) they call now the Tiltyard."

§ More properly (it seems) called the Floodgate Tower; its remains are now but uninteresting, and of late character. Note 1.—The sluice work at the south-east corner, where the lower pool discharged its waters into the stream. 2.—At the north-east corner, two fine stone fragments from the early English chapel, about 1230, (for section v., chap. xv.) which make me think that Leicester *did* rebuild this Tower in place probably of a ruinous wooden or stone one. 3.—In Dugdale's plan a stair leads down to the upper pool. 4.—Inside the wall is an odd little baserelief of the Royal Lion of England, carved possibly in Elizabeth's time by some prentice hand in an idle hour.

|| Calectum or causeway (chaussée)

not till after the 13th Century. At the further end there does not seem to have been any tower of stone built in the 12th Century; for the present ruin, called Mortimer's Tower, was not built before 1200-1215, (8 yds. \times 10 yds.,) and was enlarged in the style of Henry III. about 1223. Note 1.—The drain to the later part from a garde-robe above. 2.—The solitary Norman embrasure. Above the archway, says Mr. Robinson in his essay, was a projecting wooden gallery, called a bretèche, from which stones, beams, hot pitch, and other annoyances could be hurled down upon those engaged in battering down the massive doors which closed it.

The inhabitants of Kenilworth are said to have been forced to demolish this tower by order of Cromwell.

The Causeway. The Causeway originally led along the east side of the Norman moat, commanded by the barbican and the earthworks, and by the artillery from the keep. It terminated at the draw-bridge on the S. E. angle of the keep (see Vignette of Keep.)

This causeway* is flanked on both sides by fragments of wall mostly of latish masonry.

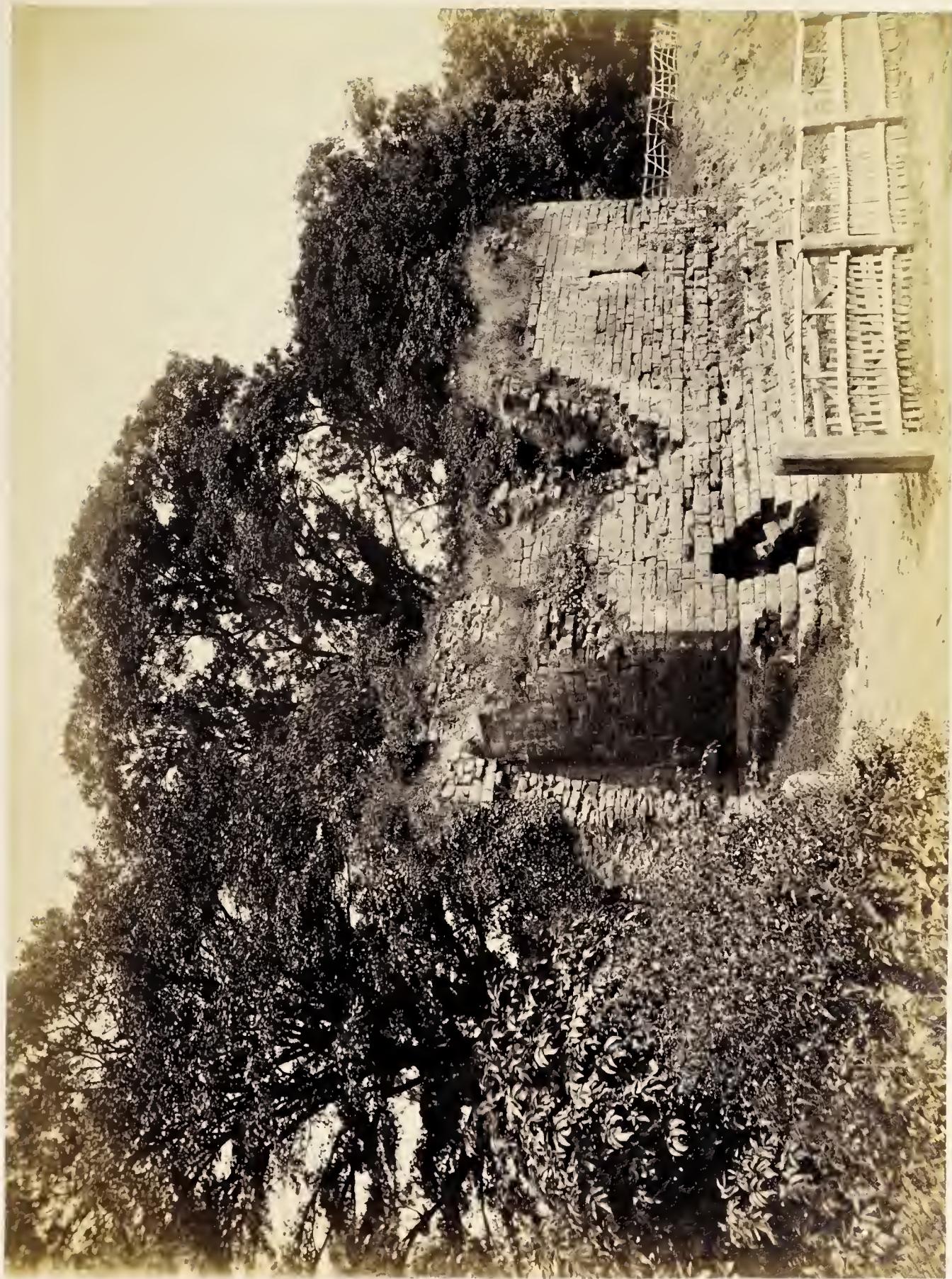
In the 17th Century it was divided in order to drain the pool, and the materials were probably thrown, with stones of Henry VIII's building, into the old moat below the keep, to make the process of dismantling and carting away materials easier and cheaper.

When the plan of the Castle was extended, (1180, &c.) the old moat was *probably* Moats of 2nd I think filled up at the north side; and the draw-bridge tower was moved 3rd. a good distance northwards. (See Plan II.) There was then a double fosse at the north entrance (of which vestiges may still be seen); from this the water which had been kept at a convenient depth by the high level channel, (formed 1136-1180) flowed round the base of Lunn's Tower and the east wall into the lower pool, separated from this by a narrow causeway† that led to a postern in the Water Tower; and so southwards into the river. Plan (II.) shews the form of these secondary defences, and the site of the second mill at (U, or) U 2.

* Its dimensions are given in "Kenilworth Illustrated," as 395 feet long, and from 40 to 50 feet wide; but it must be remembered that at present it actually blocks up half the loop-holes of Henry III's turrets, and that its breadth at the top was originally about 18 feet or 20 at most. It was widened *possibly* (though I *much* doubt this) for the great Tournament, 1279; but part of its revêtement at least is by Leicester, and I think it clear that he widened it. The entrance between the flanking turrets was 8 or 9 feet only. Near it to the south is a passage or doorway to the lower pool (? 14th Century.) And along the W. side is *some* possibly early stonework in the line of the present wall. Read Laneham's account of the Queen's Entrance, where he seems to call the 'Brays' the tiltyard, as most probably it was, and then soon afterwards speaks of the Great Dam as the tiltyard, as it also certainly was in his day. Mr. Charles Draper, of Clinton House, tells me, that Hawkesworth only made a culvert through the dam, the top of which was perfect till the great flood of 1834.

† By what are called the Prior's Fields to the North of the Castle, ran a water-course, between high banks now levelled, down which the stream of the north arm ran from a weir to fill the north ditches; it is marked, but not accurately, in Plans I. and II., where I have assigned it to the founder of the Castle, believing it to have been diverted by his successor, when the outworks were improved, about 1180.

‡ This kept the water of the moat at a rather high level than that of the lower pool, and there may have been a narrow draw-bridge over the sluice gates. The moat has been made a little shallower, and there was a dam or two somewhere on the north side (*perhaps* a causeway to the great gate opposite Redfen Lane, if not a narrow wall under a draw-bridge.) The high level was I believe only *altered* about 1180, v. n. above.



MORTIMER'S TOWER (EARLY 13TH CENTURY).



I ought to add that the bream of the upper pool were famous in the neighbourhood, and that the Monks of the Priory had license to fish there with boat and nets for their Friday's dinner.*

The 'Inchford' brook or "Kenilworth river" found its way down from here to the 'Abbey Bridge'† through what must have been a mere swamp, afterwards formed into the Abbey Pool.

Map II will shew what is left of the eastern moat and lower pool. Remains of Tower Pool. ancient masonry may be seen on both sides of the channel, by the great earthwork, running E. Indeed, there seems to have been a smallish oval pool above the mill.‡ The lower pool between the causeway of the Water Tower and these earthworks must have been shallow. But it is hard to say what changes Leicester wrought here. I believe he made some ornamental terraces round the Lower Pool. Indeed, in Dugdale's 'plot' all the east moat and lower pool are marked as orchard, as if he had quite filled them up, and Mr. Best, in 1716, only charges Hawkesworth with draining "the famous Pool," *i. e.* the upper one.

CHAPTER VI.

WALK ROUND THE OUTER WALLS.

Plan III has the several noticeable objects pointed out by figures, by which the visitor who obtains permission can, if he will, test these notes; but the walk has no special interest for any but an archæologist.

1. Leaving Mortimer's Tower, and crossing the covered drain we have
2. A piece of middle Early English wall (about 1240), connecting that tower and its entrance with the Castle.
3. Then§ an Early English postern door and a longish stretch of E. English work to the fourth buttress, all perhaps of one date.

* This shews that the Pool of the Priory was of more recent formation. The Monks probably soon followed the example of their neighbour. But with such large pools as they afterwards possessed, they could not need the Thursday's fishing.

† Called from its shape 'the Packsaddle Bridge;' it was destroyed by a flood in 1673. In July, (? 28), 1831, a similar flood (after heavy rain of only a few hours) carried away the modern bridge by the tiltyard, a few moments after two or three persons now living had crossed; this proves the necessity or utility of the high and low level watercourses, made by the Norman owners, as overflow channels. I must here acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Luke Heynes.

‡ See U, Plan II. Local tradition however, says, that the mill was at U 2, and is most probably right, as the earthworks seem to shew; if so, these traces must be explained otherwise, as probably belonging to some ornamental gardening of Leicester.

§ The base of an earlyish arrow-slit is still in its place.

4. Next comes one of the most original and interesting parts of the Castle, what is really the South front of the Norman Barbican, built to defend the moat-foot and causeway, (see Plan I.). It has three very peculiar windows, splayless outside, and *broadening towards the sill*: of course they have been filled up behind with rubble, but the rebates for shutters may still be seen inside. The buttress to the west, concealing the coins, is hollow.

5. Then a shorter piece of wall (1242) with a rather later buttress (?1260) built up against it.

6. (due west) a rather earlier piece with a later buttress.

7. Then a nice remnant of *early parapet corbeling that carried the alure, (1240), than earlyish buttress demolished.

8. Turning slightly northwards we have a stretch of similar wall with two buttresses.

9. Same wall and a buttress.

10. Same to angle.

11. A few more yards of similar work running W. N. W.

12. A longer piece of (?) John of Gaunt's work (1390) or later.

13, 14. An angular shallow buttress, and a pretty flat-trefoil or shoulder-arched window with some thirty yards of earlyish work: an inside 'domus' has stood here (?1242), yet† the lower masonry at least is much earlier.

15. Thirteenth Century wall with the sallyports leading to and from the lake.

16. Another angular shallow buttress, part of another inside dwelling (domus), and a longish bit of wall (13th century).

17. Then a square headed opening, and a high bit‡ of motley wall.

18. Two Early English buttresses close together, the larger of which (altered in the last century?), screens an early and very curious recess (described in "Walk round the Inner Wall"), and the latter is close to the partition wall between the Pleasance and the Basecourt.

19. A bit of motley and then Early English to

20. A late Norman§ drain (about 1180 or 1200), then a shallow buttress and a piece of old wall.

* In this early walling may be seen holes similar to those described in chapter x., q. v.

† See Pipe Roll (for 1242) in the appendix.

‡ Along this curtain wall were found holes similar to those noticed in the face of the Keep. I mean, those in which oak logs were placed while the wall was building.

§ Leading to the S. E. corner of the Pleasance and belonging probably to some early domus or hall in the inside court, but certainly not earlier than the date given, namely the beginning of the second Age.



ALURE CORBELING (13TH CENTURY).

21. Piece inserted with four centred arch, through which Elizabeth must, I suppose, have gone to cross the timber bridge over the lake.—See *Laneham's Letter*. It is now blocked up.

22. Old wall again.

23. To the Swan Tower, which flanked the entrance to the moat, built possibly in 1219. Swans were probably fed here in Q. Elizabeth's time.

24, 25, and 26. The whole range of North wall, probably the strongest part of the enceinte, with its double moat, and triple fortifications with draw-bridges, opposite the Birmingham road or Redfen Lane, was all destroyed, when (about *1650,) the castle was dismantled. The end of it may be seen in Leicester's Gateway Tower.

27. The line of the moat is interrupted by Leicester's Gateway bridge on a narrow arch. The whole platform is probably Hawkesworth's work, who removed the 13th century buttresses, about 1650, when he destroyed the wall, and re-erected them on the East side of his platform, where their antique look has often puzzled me.

28, 29. The wall is demolished as far as the gorge of †Lunn's Tower, which was built 1175 or 1180, but has undergone some changes. Two squinch arches connect it with the alure along the curtain wall, by a passage defended by a high parapet.—See "Farm-yard in Base-court." Notice the splay of the base which has been covered with water. The photograph will shew every thing else of interest. The walls at the base are about six feet thick. Observe the 'hourd' holes. "To see (says, Mr. Robinson in his essay on the military architecture of Warwickshire), to see the battlements cutting their jagged and broken outlines sharply against the sky, was only to see a castle on a peace footing; as war drew near, they threw out long pieces of wood projecting over the moat, and on these formed a hanging gallery, called a hoard or hourd, which gave them a directly perpendicular command of the wall from its summit to its base, and enabled the defenders to proceed from point to point unexposed to the assailants. If you examine the upper part of Lunn's Tower, you will still see the holes in which these supports were placed." These hourds had port-holes protected by shutters that fell after a shot was delivered from the fort; and to destroy such timber galleries, the besiegers' first efforts were directed. The reader will find them most ingeniously represented in Le Duc's great

* Leicester must have altered much of the northern line of defence, changing the entrance, making aviaries where the great towers had stood, or inserting ornamental work into their gorges or backs.

† This name is discussed elsewhere. In confirmation of the notion that this tower is named after its successful lieutenant of 1265, I must refer to Le Duc, s. c. Château. He describes the general defence of a Castle, as consisting of several small distinct garrisons, every post, each curtain, each bastion having its separate commandant and company of defenders, each gate having its own captain and his several men-at-arms.

Si m'est avis que Dangier porte
La clef de la premiere porte
Qui ouvre vers orient
Avec li, au mien escient,
A trente sergens tout a conte.—*Roman de la Rose*.

Dictionary. The name 'Lunn's' is possibly derived from some captain of men at arms, who distinguished himself by defending this tower, 1265.

30. A long line of Early English *curtain with later buttresses brings us to the

31. Water tower, (about 1212, windows 1242). A very beautiful ruin. Notice the mouth of the drain into the moat, and the round-headed loop hole to the Garderobe chamber (1242), and contrast the arrow-holes† with those of the keep (before 1136,) Lunn's Tower, 1175, and Mortimer's Tower, 1223, (all given in the photographs).

32. A curious piece of wall on the south side; no base chamfers for a few feet, then a small

33. piece of very early work (1170 about). It seems as if the work had been suspended for some years.

34, 35, 36. Early English ‡ work (about 1240,) with curious Guardroom and chimney shaft. Had the chamber a cross loop-hole at first? the wall here must have been a few feet higher.

37. A gutter spout, above base moulding, (continued to third buttress.)

38. A stretch of wall, without base moulding, (more or less dismantled), to Mortimer's Tower.

Observe 1, that for nearly thirty feet of wall there has been a covert way from the Guard-room on a broad flat stone bench, varying from 3 feet to 16 inches in width; projecting from the base of the wall, and following its line; and on the other side of the guard-room are traces of a similar work, which also, I think, belonged to a covered or palisaded way, or "forelose" along the water-side. The opening of the Guard-room was I think at first a loop-hole, and then altered to a door with a wooden lintel, opening on to the palisaded way; the door has been blocked up, perhaps 300 years. A *narrow* terrace ran on to the Water Tower, the base of which still keeps its 'banker's mark.' From this forelose the defenders might man rafts or boats on the lower pool. Since the above was written I have made out the *original* design to be for a garderobe, see chapter viii. 2, That the terrace from the Water Tower must have been made or widened in more recent days (probably by Leicester) for the water must have come *nearly* close to the Water Tower. The causeway was doubtless protected by a small drawbridge, and led only to the earthworks and what was at first a swamp and afterwards a pool of the Priory.

* *Perhaps* lowered by Simon de Montfort, whose mangonels and other engines required a low curtain, see appendix 6. Near the Water Tower is a very fine merlon, perfect, though without its embrasure. It will give some idea of what was the appearance of all this piece of wall, before its parapet was spoilt. And each face of the Water Tower may have had two similar but smaller merlons with a narrow embrasure.


† Of a cross shape to allow, as Mr. Robinson suggests, the use of cross-bows. This shape had the defect of weakness at the cross arms, as is very evident.

‡ Notice here again the holes for the construction of the 'horde' (English hurdle, German horde, French hord, old French hordel, &c.; late Latin hardicium, hordecium; probably it was but an improvement on the simple hurdle, having both offence and defence in view; indeed the same name was given to battering towers). And above them notice

CHAPTER VII.

THE ENTRANCES TO THE CASTLE.

That on the road from Warwiek has been partly described, but the visitor should
 Mortimer's (having got leave,) examine Mortimer's* tower with care, noting the one
 Tower. battlement which has been walled up some 650 years, and is the only one left
 in the Castle. Its corbels are quite Norman. It is observable also, with what slight
 foundations our early builders were often contented.

Any one can see at once that there is here an older tower encaased on three sides by a
 more modern but still ancient one, with two semicircular bastions. Below the battlements
 and corbel are two put-log holes, which may, perhaps, have belonged to a 'hurdium or
 horde' of some sort, one 6 feet above the other (Somewhat in this way,  see Le Duc.
 s.v. Hourd). The drain was connected with two garderobes above.

Plan II shews that the road from Birmingham having turned at the north arm of
 Road from the pool, or at the fen above it, runs along its eastern edge, straight for the
 Birmingham. great portal of the Castle. Here all vestiges of fortification have disappeared.
 Leicester began the demolition, and Hawkesworth and his fellows finished it.

Leicester broke through the high curtain wall, a good deal eastward of the old
 Gateway entrance, and inserted his stately Gateway Tower, through which a road
 Tower. twelve feet in width, led across the moat, which he narrowed.

The present entrance must be nearly as Hawkesworth left it, about 1656, A.D. He
 Hawkesworth's blocked up the tower archway, with bay † windows; added a rather picturesque
 House. building to the east, filled up the moat, re-erecting part of the early English
 buttresses of the north wall (which he had destroyed), to flank and support his esplanade.

In the exterior of this tower, remark 1, the porch which has been taken out of the
 ruins, (it is said, from Dudley's lobby). The door inside it was stolen from Leicester's
 buildings, and these fragments of alabaster came from some state chambers of his time.

2. The traces of the high north wall of the Castle in the western side, where the
 basement moulding is interrupted, and the face is rubble instead of ashlar.

the sills of two loop-holes, six yards apart. The French 'bretâche' is sometimes *nearly* equivalent, at least the verb
 bretescher stood for fortifying with hounds.

* Built about 1200-1215, and enlarged probably in 1223. Dugdale oddly ascribes it to Leicester, who "raised it
 from the ground in memory of one more antient; wherein, as I guess, either the Lord Mortimer, at the time of that
 solemn tilting (1279), did lodge; or else because Sir John Mortimer, Kt., prisoner here in Henry Vth's time, was detained
 herein." (See "the Earthworks and Pools.")

† These are not unpicturesque, and being made of Leicester's own window mullions, do master Hawkesworth's
 taste and ingenuity, some credit. He made himself comfortable, obeyed orders, and after all did not do so much
 damage, probably, as Leicester himself, or even John of Gaunt. Did his side-door come from the Keep?

3. The arms of Beauchamp on the south front, to which, *certainly, Leicester had no right whatever.

Inside are 1, a curious† oak staircase, in the S. W. turret.

2. The famous fireplace, (about 1570), the chimney piece of which is made up of a fine alabaster one, brought probably from ‡the Privy Chamber, and some elaborate oak carving out of the Presence Chamber.

3. Some interesting old oak wainscoting taken from the same place. 4.—A less curious chimney piece of oak upstairs. 5.—Some very beautiful fragments of early Decorated work, probably belonging to the “King’s” chapel.—See vignette, in chapter xv. 6.—Fragments of fine plaster-work, 16th century.§

The entrance from the Birmingham road was disused it seems by Leicester, (see Change of Entrance. Lancham’s description of the Garden), and altogether destroyed in the 17th century.

Look at the large spherical stones close by. These were most probably Mangonel balls. made for Simon de Montfort’s great mangonels to cast.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FARMYARD

(PRIVATE.)

Contains by far the most interesting part of the eastern bailey or base-court.

Going (by permission) from the gable-end of Hawkesworth’s house, close to which the arch of Leicester’s bridge may be seen, the visitor will notice Lunn’s Gunn’s Tower. Tower,|| the gorge or back of which has been destroyed.

* So Miss Strickland.—But Sir P. Sidney in his reply to Leicester’s commonwealth (which is preserved at Penshurst, and published by Mr. Collins and Mr. Adlard), after mentioning the Greys, Beauchamps, and Berkleys, adds, “I name these because England can boast of no nobler, and because all these bloods so remained in him, that he as heir might (if he had listed) have used their arms and name, as in old time they used in England, and do daily, both in Spain, France, and Italy.”

† Solid steps of oak were not uncommon, as at Chibborne, Northumberland, (Parker, Dom. Arch.)

‡ The incised motto “Vivit post funera Virtus,” which we see on many sepulchral stones of the 17th Century, was probably added after the Earl’s death. ‘Droite et Loyale’ was ‘my Lordes posie.’

§ Some of the tiles and other small things in the glass case are worth looking at; *e.g.* a working model of a mangonel. Bells similar to one placed here, were worn by horses, dogs, hawks, &c., in the Middle Ages; as we see them on the splendid brass of Thomas de Crew, at Wixford.

|| The name has never been accounted for, unless indeed, Lunn was the lieutenant in charge during the siege of 1265. It is evident that this tower has suffered greatly at some time or other from violence, most likely under Hawkesworth’s hands.



LUNN'S TOWER AND KING'S CHAMBER, FROM THE WEST.

This interesting tower was built about 1175 or 1180,* and altered before 1235, probably, about 1216, when the fireplaces† were added and the staircase turret built.

On the side of the tower looking W., the later squinch arch added on to connect it with a new piece of (? 1200) curtain-wall may be seen blocking up an older loophole; it is late Norman, and very like the higher one on the eastern wall outside. A door opens N.W. on to the Early English alure, and the remains of a largish window (double chamfered) may be noticed. On the south side note the put-log holes for the King's oriol or porch, built on (of timber) in 1235.

King's Chamber. The middle story of Lunn's Tower was called the *King's Chamber*. In the lower chamber, the two corbels may have strengthened the floor. If the roof were made flat for a *mangonel*, it would need great strength.

A few yards of low curtain wall (Simon de Montford lowered curtain walls that his great 'perrières' might ply over them, but this has been badly treated since) bring us to the Barn, which has been made into stables, (possibly the ground floor of the two ends was always so used). The weight of the heavy joists is taken off by stone and brick piers.

Brick has been substituted for plaster between the timbers of the upper story, whose curious rude foliations or notchings will be noticed.‡

There is a tradition that Leicester's original roof was a flat leaden one, if so, it was stripped and sold (? before 1660), and a new roof put on afterwards, before 1700, as Buck's engravings shew.

Not much can be made out of the 'alure' or passage along the walls; the head of a § curious skew-loophole (Early English) is built in, and a piece of chamfer remains in site, belonging to the back of the 'alure.'

Beyond Leicester's barn stands up a very interesting original merlon (given in the E. view of the Water Tower, yielding us (I think) no clue to the width of the *embrasure*, but in all other respects perfect and fine. Probably, the whole length of this curtain-wall was so finished.

Water Tower. We come next to the beautiful Water Tower and Queen's Chamber, which may have been built 1212; as it shews traces of the Norman style. The roof has disappeared since 1720. The outside front has been described elsewhere, but the visitor must observe the simple beauty of the inner façade or gorge. The lower window has traces of put-log holes for a shutter above it.

* Both pools existed in 1199; therefore Lunn's tower must have been built before that. Probably Geoffrey the younger built it about 1175, when the lower pool was also formed. Notice that the early fireplace blocks up a loop hole and is therefore later; and that the little bit of south curtain wall, with the squinch, is *later* than Lunn's tower, possibly about 1200, but a good deal *earlier* than the staircase. The original stairs were probably internal and of wood, and the turret was built on after the 'King's chamber' was arranged on the floor above the basement, but before the oriol was added.

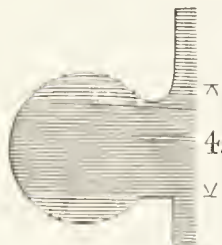
† One of them blocks up an arrow-slit or crenelle, as noticed above.

‡ They have been thought to represent Leicester's Ragged Staff.

§ Probably removed from the early wall when Leicester built his gateway.

Entering, we find the ground-floor to be nearly a square of 20 feet or more each way. It has a round headed doorway on to a causeway leading across the moat, and the scanty remains of a very early fireplace (1212 at the *latest*, I think).

A staircase (pure E. English) leads to the upper story, and above that to the wall and roof. The roof seems to have had a guard-chamber in it, the gables of which looking N. and S. left a parapet passage all round the top. The rain off the western roof was curiously conducted by a gutter through the guard-room to a spout on the N. front. Notice 1, that the narrow door has an original *wooden* lintel by reason of its position. 2. That the parapet here was between 5 and 6 feet high, having probably in each face, a loop-hole on each side of a narrow long embrasure. 3.—That the allure or passage was in some parts only 3 feet 4 inches wide, the slope of the roof making it practically wider in most places. 4.—The curious inside moulding above the gutter. 5.—The high north window above you in the Guard-room gable.



And lastly, notice the hand-rail for the right hand, to the stair as far as the Queen's Chamber (inserted ? 1242.) It has been sadly broken, but seems to have been like this. These hand-rails (Fr. *mains-courantes*) are rare in stone work. The newel or (in the 14th Century) a central moulding on the steps served the same purpose in most staircases.

The garde-robes or privy chambers date the upper about 1212, the latter 1242, when the older windows of this tower were broken and replaced by the present larger and more elegant ones.

On the upper floor is "the Queen's Chamber. Observe the Early English fire place, (an evident insertion, 1242), with its trap for wood ashes (1242). Notice the east window which (when half ruined) was hastily patched with a loophole, in Charles 1st's time probably.

And look at the drain, to clear out which, a constant run of water flowed down a channel from the lake. (Plan III, dotted lines from S.)

The narrow passage and loophole chamber to the south are worthy of notice.

The larger holes (chiefly) in the south wall were made, when (16th or 17th Century) this tower was turned into a dovecote. For the turn in the Garderobe passage, which is quite usual at this date (13th Century), see Le Due.

Reader! the *ivy* has ruined this fine tower.

A few yards further, we come to what was doubtless a second Guard-chamber, it contains a fire place and chimney (noticed in the 'walk outside'), a locker, and a narrow passage (date probably about 1240) leading to a garderobe, which was afterwards altered into a doorway on to a foreclose or outside passage; and then again the foreclose was destroyed and the door blocked up, possibly in Leicester's time, when the terraces were made or enlarged. See Chapter VI., No. 36.)



JOHN OF GAUNT'S TOWER (ABOUT 1400), AND LEICESTER'S BUILDINGS,
FROM THE WEST.

CHAPTER IX.

WALK ROUND THE INNER WALLS.

Starting southward from the S.E. corner of the Keep, where the original Norman moat* is filled up, we have on the left hand the Farmyard, already described in chapter viii; on the right the remains of the Entrance Gateway, of uncertain date (perhaps, about 1170).

Henry the 8th's lodgings and Sir Robert Dudley's lobby, which took the line of Henry VIII's early wall (and earlier earthwork), have altogether disappeared; but the moat Lodgings. remains to puzzle people who do not remember how Norman Castles were built, nor what Robert Laneham wrote.

Before us, as we look south, is an early door leading down to the pool, and to the remains of the ancient barbican not recognizable here at the back; on the right of the Postern. now dry moat, Leicester's buildings, bearing the date (on a broken tablet not in site), 1571. These go down into the bottom of the moat, which was nearly 70 feet wide and deep in proportion; and have very deep foundations. Notice the traces of the square lead gutter pipes, and the alteration in the loopholes in the basement (? about 1645). A thin wall, at the S.W. angle divides the Base-court into two.

Looking west, on the left, are only a long stretch of patched wall, with two 13th Century fireplaces, (the ground is much raised); and fragments of two Norman windows, possibly put in here when Leicester removed an old Norman tower to insert an oriel window on the inner wall.

On the right, we resume the line of (about 1200) Early English work, with varied and interesting base-mouldings (given elsewhere), interrupted and built upon by John of Gaunt and by Leicester.

The Great Tower† is a fine work of the former, then we have a peculiar oriel‡ window Gaunt's (? 1571) supported by a buttress (not happily re-built), and (after an early piece) Tower. a second oriel, which replaced a *Norman Tower*; both by Leicester, (for the tower, see Plan I). Then very early walling (before 1200), that has had a fire-place

* It was not filled up in Elizabeth's time as Laneham's letter proves: for she crossed "over a dry valley cast into a good form," by a bridge 70 feet long and 20 wide, gravelled for treading. It will be seen how straight a line may be drawn along the Tiltyard or Causeway to the outer edge of the moat opposite the gateway.

† The ground is a *little* lower at the W. side of the Tower than it has been for hundreds of years.

‡ The nose of the oriel seems to have rested on a corbel engaged in, and similarly moulded with, an architrave; below this a panel with bas-reliefs, niche, or sundial; part of the moulding of the panel may be seen in the photograph, but unfortunately it was destroyed, when the restoration was attempted, which I trust will be some day undone.

inside, and on the early base moulding, John of Gaunt's work begins with a Garderobe and staircase.

The original line of wall, from this point, is guessed in Plan I and II.

John of Gaunt threw his Great Hall forward to the west, having first enlarged the site. Turn east to see the fine view. Then turning north, on the left, we have remains of two Early English* (domi) dwellings against the wall. In the first (? 1242), a change of masonry below the sill of the window shows older work; close to it the old ashlar-face shows the level of the wall-alure. Then after the Sallyport (13th Century), and the Corbel on its left, we come to the larger remains of dwellings, and an interesting† recess close to the Pleasance wall. The well has been filled up.

Notice the two-storied fire-places of the 13th Century, and a small chimney groove (?) for another of plaster; the Domi here were about 20 feet broad, they were destroyed by fire (? about 1650).

On the right the fine façade of John of Gaunt's work needs no description.

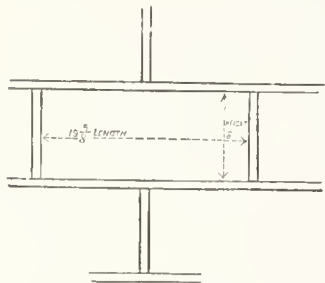
The Artificial Mounds must have been intended for small cannon, to command the narrow part of the lake, or to fire salutes; and have at least been made higher since 1400, by Leicester, probably 1570-1575.

The Pleasance is not open to the public, it occupies the mouth of the first Norman moat; the most interesting view which it affords is given to the reader. John of Gaunt's work begins about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards from the two-light window, but the great buttress seems his.

Notice the great drain‡ in the N. façade.

* These domi seem to have had a stone foundation, and above that wooden plastered walls. Most of their windows looked into the court, and one at least of their fireplaces was of lath and plaster; one window has been lately opened in good condition. The hood arch of a second has suffered more, and its repair is hardly satisfactory, but few can quite estimate the *absolute necessity* that there was for strengthening the wall-face.

† It is perhaps hardly becoming for a guide to confess himself puzzled, but this recess is not easy to explain. 1.—It has had a wooden lintel for a long time. 2.—The filling up which was lately removed consisted of fragments of Leicester's work. 3.—The buttress which *fitted against* this late filling up has an early look, but may be a reconstruction. 4.—The recess itself is very early English, not later than 1200. 5.—The inner half of the wall above the lintel is of very hasty and probably late construction. 6.—The whole front of the wall has given way five inches or more before the buttress was built, and this is twisted all out of shape. Some 17th or 18th Century hand has muddled everything into utter confusion, but originally, I think, there was a two-light and very early window, with a segmental arch over it. There is the hole for a shutter hinge.



‡ Into the gutter of which a smaller drain comes; ? from the cellars or buttery.



STRONG TOWER (MERVYN'S—SIR W. SCOTT).

The more modern wall of Leicester's garden gives the Pleasance a most irregular shape; crossing it, or rather beginning from the other side, we see on the left hand literally nothing but a modern wall; on the right, some old and much broken basement, a drain of John of Gaunt's work, another of late Norman work (? 1180), a gutter-spout on the top of the wall* (the parapet is gone), a buttress (about 1240) against the kitchen chimney, and the Great Arch of entrance.† This arch is an after thought, probably added by Geoffrey the younger (about 1180), for some three yards back we see the old Norman pier with its five courses of chamfers (the stones are actually *in situ* behind his work) forming the corner of the Norman court of entrance. There remains nothing beyond this but a ruin, little more than the mere foundation of the Keep being left on its northern face.

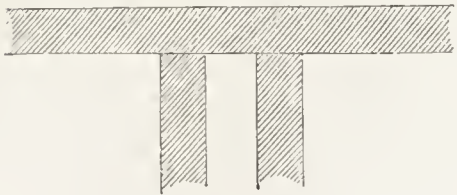
CHAPTER X.

CÆSAR'S TOWER.‡

THE KEEP AND ITS NORMAN ADJUNCTS.

(OUTSIDE.)

The Great Tower (built before 1136) measured about 100 feet by 80 in extreme dimensions, and is remarkable for the strength of its walls, and the grandeur of its base-splay, which however has been badly repaired.§



Mural Line-painting, 13th Century, in Recess; compare that at Coucy, in Parker and Le Duc.

* The ivy has done mischief here as throughout. The reader may regret its disappearance; but he cannot keep both the castle and the ivy, and which is to be preferred?

† See the Norman chamfer stones, used as rubble in the Early English buttress close by.

‡ I need not say that this is a merely vulgar name, and that the keep dates from about 1130.

§ The south face also has been wretchedly patched at various times. In estimating the strength of this tower, it must not be forgotten that, with the exception of the N. W. turret, which was the Garde-robe Tower, all the turrets were solid masses of masonry from the ground upwards for many feet. The S. W. turret was hollowed out by Leicester to insert an internal staircase, for the sake of which he secularized the chapel above.

Leicester treated the larger windows in most unceremonious fashion. Originally, the lower ones at least were much alike that which still remains in the eastern face, having a large panel with an ashlar hood-arch—a mere facing—
 Leicester's Rough Treatment. and a double splay inside and outside, which left only space for a narrow light or loophole. The upper windows seem to have had similar large ashlar panel arches, with smallish shuttered windows splayed internally, not unlike those of the old barbican.

Leicester, trusting to the strength of the walls, knocked everything away, and then patched and plastered the holes into tidiness, putting in his square-headed* mullioned-windows and filling up the heads of the arches. The small late windows in the S.W. turret shew the same recklessness on his part, being brutally knocked through the wall, without hood-arches. The largish upper windows of the same turret are Early English, while the opening in the south face of the S. E. turret is a door of later work, from which a stair† led down on to the roof of Henry 8th's lodging. (See Plan III). In this

Clock. same S. E. turret may be seen the holes made for Leicester's clock-faces.

On the western side of the Keep, sheltered by the N. W. turret, we find the door to the lower story of the Keep, the threshold of which must have been some 8 or 9 feet above the original ground level. The only defences‡ of this lower doorway. portal seem to have been its height from the ground, and a thick wooden door, the hinge-staples of which have been wrenched away, as well as the staple for the ('pensile'-or) pad-lock. Here there was no porteullis, a fact which seems to shew that the remains of the eastern gate are rather later. Close to this are two early buttresses, on which the stairs and passage up to the principal door rested. This door is on the level of the upper story, and has a semicircular head, the tympanum of which, as if by an afterthought,§ is filled up by a segmental arch suiting the passage beyond.

In both turrets of this face is a rebate of 3 feet, more or less, (some 30 feet or more from the old ground-level;) which has been lowered by John of Gaunt or Leicester. On these rebates and the two buttresses the entrance gallery rested, being further, I suppose, supported by a wooden pier or pillar.

The gallery was protected by a pent-house,|| the weatherings of which have left traces.

The large corbel holes are of later date. The buttresses have been also lowered.

Leicester knocked a hole in the solid mass of the S. W. turret, but the door which he inserted has disappeared, as well as the staircase he built in the hollow which he made.

* Those of the lower arches were wooden I believe.

† Traces of a lead or cement weathering are still to be seen.

‡ The vaulted passage was meant probably to be built up in time of siege.

§ Is it not merely constructive?

|| There was one over the outer staircase at Rochester, 1240. 24, Henry III.

It must be added that in the masonry of this Keep, and in part of the outer wall, (14, 15, &c., Plan III.) have been found small holes (round but with square faces) running from 3 to 6 feet into the wall at a slight slant. Their diameter is but $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, too small for 'put-logs,' and I believe their nature and interest are shewn by one still remaining below this doorway. In this is yet visible the end of an oak log; it is as if a small pole had been laid on every third or fourth course at a slight slant, built over, and then pulled out that the moisture in the wall might find easier outlet. Then square plugs of stone were put in, when the new wall was quite set.*

The Keep had a small western court-yard attached to it, with a low door† opening on the old moat northward (mutilated by Hawkesworth, and afterwards filled up), and another (replaced by one of the 14th Century) into the larger enclosure. The old basement mouldings in chamfers are still visible on the outside of this yard. On the north-end the grander portal was built on to the old one, perhaps by the younger Clinton, about 1175.

To the north, all trace of moat and keep-wall‡ has been effaced, the foundations, however, and some parts of the flanking turrets are still there.

The ground-level of this small court was greatly raised before Leicester's time, as his fine arches§ prove. Before him, John of Gaunt had built chambers over the whole of it. In Leicester's additions to the south, the 'bear' in bas-relief may be traced with the date 1570. Of John of Gaunt's work there only remains pieces of stringcourse, windows, and door. Part of the late Norman stringcourse has been oddly shifted to the west face of the turret.

In the south wall runs a small culvert or drain, possibly to join that which issues into the Garden; but I don't know its object, though it was probably connected with the Chapel.

It only remains for the visitor to notice the fragment of the Norman entrance tower, Eastern Gate. (? 1136), through which the Warwick road entered the Great Court. This was probably dismantled by Hawkesworth, and little is left besides the spring-stones of some round or segmental arches, and the porteallis grove, which has been badly patched.

The great north Portal will be noticed in 'the walk round the inner walls.'

* I wish here to mention Mr. John Garner, mason, without whose intelligent and ready help I should most likely have missed many details, and this among them.

† It had a segmental barrel vaulting like the doorway into the lower story of the keep.

‡ Local tradition says that the inhabitants of Kenilworth were impressed by Cromwell's authority to dismantle the Keep. This *may* have happened shortly after 1656, when Dugdale's book was published, or more likely some time before.

§ These were built in haste, for they are not finished off by the mason.

THE KEEP AND ITS NORMAN ADJUNCTS.

(INSIDE.)

(NOT OPEN WITHOUT SPECIAL LEAVE.)

Inside of The Keep (I think) must have been divided above and below by solid piers into two wide aisles running east and west.

In the lower apartment were kept all sorts of stores, military and domestic. Observe the well in the S. E. corner, the pit of which goes some 70 feet to the rock; there is said to be a strong spring here, which however finds its way out a few feet from the bottom; and since its clearance in 1819, the well has been filled up so far by the mischievous contributions of visitors, that it seems dry.

Notice the great staircase, in the N.E. corner, and the narrow passage into the N.W. turret. Near each window-opening may be seen three plug holes,* and on each side another larger hole, these latter may belong to some defence for the windows, or rather loopholes,† to which the recess on each side *may* have contributed.

They could hardly have been for curtains of leather or tapestry, as this lower floor was but a cellar in Norman times. The three smaller holes *may*, as I said, be of Leicester's day, and be meant for curtains, *but* none are to be seen in the state-windows above. The lower part of the S.E. turret is, it seems, solid. Above us was the wooden floor of the Great Hall,‡ to which, both the external stair of wood and an inside stair of stone led up.

Notice 1, the alteration of the sills by Leicester. 2, The heights of the western sills from the floor, occasioned by the neighbourhood of the outside entrance and gallery. 3, The high narrow arch leading from the N. W. turret to a passage in the north wall, (which was 12 feet thick). 4, *The absence of fireplaces*, though of course there *may* have§ been one or two in the north wall. 5, The opening to the well, now walled up.

Examine next the high chamber on this floor, in the S. E. turret, with the peculiar lift. 'lift' or passage, (4 feet x 2 feet 8,) going up in the wall to the top.

This must, I think, have been meant for the hauling up of beams, &c., for defence and repairs in time of war.||

* "You will still see" (says Mr. Robinson) "traces of the rods on which the leathern curtains slid to prevent what arrows did enter from penetrating into the rooms; and also the recesses into which they were drawn back, when not in use." I cannot quite credit the Norman baron with having leathern hangings to the mere loopholes of his cellar. It is more credible that such were used after the enlargement of the windows by Leicester, examine E. loophole. There were probably no fireplaces.

† I must add that the masonry of the Keep has been roughly repaired at different times, both inside and outside.

‡ Probably there was near the S.E. corner a trap-door, "trappa descendens."

§ Most unlikely.

|| The external doorway has been inserted ? early in 16th Century, and the masonry of the splay altered. This passage led down on to the roof of Henry the 8th's building.

Leicester broke through S. and E. for his great clock faces. Above this there were again floors, and then a vast roof of great height (see vignette of the keep), of which the traces are now but very few; the casements for the loop-holes are visible.

After all, where *was* the Chapel? The great probability is, that it was on the same floor as the Great Hall, and in the S. W. Turret,* the chamber of which has an eastern recess large enough for a small altar, with a S. window; all *distinctive* traces, however, have seemingly perished under Leicester's worldly hands. There were, formerly (not many years since), traces of fresco painting here, but they have vanished through the weather and by stones thrown by idle and mischievous visitors.

Now look at the N. W. turret; it is hard to make out for certain, a thing so completely ruined as this is, but I believe it to have been the Garderobe Tower, with entrances on every floor. In its north wall is a curious low passage going up to a narrow light,† a mere creephole, some 3 feet high and 15 inches wide.

Changes have been made here by John of Gaunt, or more probably by Leicester, which make it hard to understand every feature.

The N. E. turret gives no sign of any chamber, window, or door; it seems solid, and must have been a hardish nut to crack, even when the moat was filled up by a besieging force.

CASTLE RISING.

Since I wrote this chapter, I have carefully examined the grand earthworks and buildings at Castle Rising.

There is an interesting early Norman Chapel, long ruined and half covered by the earthwork near it: with a nave, small central (?) tower without transept and an apsidal chancel.

I see no reason to doubt Mr. Harrod's accuracy in assigning a very early date to the great circular bank in the hollow of which the Keep stands; but it was probably added to, late in the 12th Century (when the keep was built), and so came to encroach upon the ruined chapel.

* I have elsewhere noticed Leicester's treatment of this turret, he picked the solid heart out of it, to insert a staircase; and breaking up the chapel-nave, secularized it for ever.

† The only one in the north face of the turret.

On this bank a few remnants of wall (late 15th Century) are still standing.

The Entrance Gateway defended the drawbridge and its pier: it is of pure Norman and shews the portcullis-groove.

The outer Earthworks (east and west) are, I believe with Mr. Harrod, Roman.

Of the Keep itself I may say a few words; it is very inferior in strength to that of Kenilworth, but far richer in style; and has its internal arrangements more perfect. No portcullis; no entrance from the outside to the basement floor.

From the occurrence, at least, once of Early English forms in the *original* stonework, I cannot help giving it a later date than Mr. Harrod does, and assigning it to the Third William d' Albin, who died in 1196.

The **quiet* succession of the d'Albins and Montalts down to the 14th Century seems to confirm my opinion.

On the eastern side is a fine entrance turret, with a stair of thirty-three steps leading up to the 'Vestibule' or Lobby chamber, a fine Norman room with large windows and a good vaulted roof (early 14th Century), above this is a guard chamber, also Norman.

A gallery runs in the north wall, along the Great Hall (48 feet x 24). The roof of this state apartment was altered and characteristic corbels were inserted in the 14th Century (early).

The points of resemblance between this keep and ours at Kenilworth are (it seems to me) these; its greater length from east to west, and the absence of any original chimney or flue. The garderobes at Castle Rising are in the W. wall, very boldly and well arranged; 'monumental' as Le Due would say: the Chapel is in the south-east corner.

There is a 'lift' in the north-east turret, less than that at Kenilworth and scarcely so accessible.

Half way up the great Entrance Stair, an arch is thrown, on which runs a narrow passage (to a door in the eastern face) with a square hole for hurling down missiles on assailants. The well is in the centre of the northern cellar, and not directly accessible from the upper floor.

There are many most interesting features in Castle Rising; very grand Earthworks; fine Early English work in the Castle and the Parish Church (the Norman west-front of which is well known); and a valuable collection of fragments. And altogether, if any of my readers can visit the place in August, when the sandy heaths are bright with 'ling' he will find both pleasure and instruction, such as can only be surpassed at Kenilworth, and hardly even there.

But, let him take with him Mr. W. Taylor's careful 'History,' and Harrod's 'Gleanings.'

* The reign of Henry II. was a bad time for the inheritors of *Castles* in England.



GREAT FAÇADE OF STRONG TOWER, AND HALL, FROM THE WEST.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KITCHEN, HALL, BUTTERY,
PANTRY AND CELLARS, &c.

All these are, or were, of one period, about 1390–1400.*

Kitchens. The Kitchens have altogether disappeared, leaving (perhaps) only the fireplace and ovens inserted in the very early wall. A drain † remains.

The spence or buttery and the pantry have met a similar fate; the jamb of one of their doors is left, opening to the Great Hall, or rather into the tresaunce or passage before it.

Cellars. The Cellars westward are very fine; in the S. W. chamber is the hole for the beam which used to barricade the passage under the Great Hall. On the right-hand wall of the greater Cellar a mason has cut an outline of the pier-section. Above is a room with a groined roof, near the window of which two ‡ coats of arms have been cut on the stone.

Notice the staircase down into the Great Hall and up to the roof.

There are remains of a garderobe on the north-side, right above the great drain.

The top story is an utter ruin.

Strong Tower. This part is called the Strong Tower (Mervyn's Tower, by Sir Walter Scott). As for Amy Robsart, see postscript to chapter on Robert Dudley.

* I venture to uphold the ordinary opinion, though they are doubtless of an advanced style, and Pugin in his 'Examples' assigns them to the middle of the 15th Century; but he is wrong, it seems to me, because in 1392, labourers, masons, &c. and materials were provided for John of Gaunt by the King's order; moreover Pugin confesses that the door-case may be of that date, but there is no difference of date between this fine portal and the passage that leads to it, or the groining of the basement below it, or again the groining of the Hall Cellar; all these then must date from the closing years of the 14th Century. Again it is certain that the oriel to the Hall is somewhat later, yet its evident provision for the Lord's comfort seems to place it before the 15th Century when a change of fashion took place and great men dined in private. Part of the Kitchen and its ovens are of the 13th Century work probably.

† This drain has had a wooden groove-door, to be lifted, doubtless for the purpose of cleaning it out at intervals.

‡ 1.—The arms of 'Bland' of Yorkshire probably, between three crosslets a bend charged with three pheons. 2.—Arms of Frevile. 1st & 4th.—A cross fleury. 2 and 3.—Three crescents inverted. In the room above, the word 'Dowdale' is scratched in black letter on the wall.—'Kenilworth Illustrated.'

The Hall, in outside appearance, must have been not unlike those of Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, e.g. New College, with stringcourse and battlement Gall. above the windows; the buttresses rising into crocketed pinnacles* and breaking the line of a rather flat roof.

It is not possible to make out with certainty the arrangement of the approach to the Hall. Its very elaborate door is nearly the only remnant; a flight of steps† led up from the court to the top of the groined passage, from which there must have been also access to the (14th Century) suite of rooms near the keep, and to the keep itself at that time.

Notice the drain with the groove for a wooden door.

The door on the right hand of the portal led to a staircase, and possibly, to the music gallery, as well as to the upper rooms and the roof.

The Great Hall‡ (inside). The ruin is now entered by the passage leading to the pool from the kitchens, ruined and retaining only the porteullis groove (the chain worked through a circular hole in the hall window, under the music gallery).

The partition-wall between this passage and the great cellar is nearly gone, Music Gallery. it formerly supported the music gallery in the hall above, the upper-work and screen being of wood.

The Cellar§ (appropriated doubtless to the stores of all sorts), had three groined aisles, Gall of four bays each, lighted by four narrowish loopholes to the east. A door Cellars. at the S. W. corner leads into another cellar underneath the recesses at the end of the Hall.|| I think that the westernmost aisle was partitioned off from the others.

* The engraving given in Parker's Glossary, vol. I., shews that John of Gaunt's Palace at Lincoln, has or had very tall and rich pinnacles. The recent restoration is not correct.

† It seems from the old prints, on which, however, no great reliance can be placed, that the easternmost of the two arches supporting this stair was lower than the other. It has disappeared during the last century: external staircases to the Great Halls of our English mansions were still common in the 14th Century.

‡ See Pugin's Examples, vol. II. He says, that the space of one bay at the upper end seems to have been covered by a ceiling, considerably beneath the other parts of the roof; but this is not I think correct, for the arch and its ornamental spandrels are made lower only to give space for the wall of the uppermost room in the Southern Tower.

§ The large bastion of dry walling was built to preserve the fine thorn tree, and serves also to widen the way to the Oriel. So much havoc has been done among the ornamental accessories of the ruin, that the great thorn trees are more valuable than ever.

|| Notice 1.—That the floor of the hall cellar has been lowered in John of Gaunt's time, the lower course of piers and responds being a mere casing. I think it must be difficult to find an instance of worse work. The complete ruin of these fine cellars perhaps is owing to it. I attribute it to about 1400, because of the mason's marks. 2—The two Southern-most pillars are out of their proper place and seem always to have been so. 3—After the alteration of level, whenever that took place, there was a descent of three steps from the under tressaunce or passage into the cellar.



THE GREAT HALL, EASTERN FAÇADE (ABOUT 1302).

The arrangement of the Tresaunce passages and doors* at the lower end of an ordinary College Hall, (or perhaps that of S. Mary's Guild at Coventry,) will explain everything here.

The dais was not a high one. The Oriel to the east is an after thought, as the external masonry shews, and as we see by its blocking up a window of a cellar
 Oriel. belonging to the Solar or Lord's Room. The dimensions of the Hall are about 90 feet by 45. The roof seems to have had hammer-beams.

Next, notice the glazing of the windows. Only the uppermost lights of all were
 Glass. (permanently) glazed. The two lower sets of lights have holes for the hinges and central bolts of shutters, two on each jamb, one on the mullion. Whereas in the later windows of the Oriel,† the *two* upper sets of lights have a glass-groove.‡

The floor of the fireplace in the Oriel is tiled.

Few halls of the 14th Century in England had such fireplaces as these. Pugin gives them due praise with his section and elevation in his 'Examples,' Vol. II.

Possibly, the western recess§ held the grand buffet of plate, besides the passage to the rear of the Great Hall, leading to the Solar or Lord's Chamber, a narrow room,

* "Three" says, Pugin, because, (doubtless,) besides and between the Buttery and Pantry doors, a passage led to the Kitchen, in many large houses of the 14th Century. There is no positive *proof*, but the Liberate Rolls (Guilford) confirm his view, which is in itself most probable.

† See Pugin's Extracts, vol. II., for restoration.

Soon after the erection of this hall, the good old fashion of the Lord's dining with his inferiors went out. The later usage may fairly be illustrated from the Black Book of Warwick. "Wher very solemply he (the Earle of Lyncester,) kept the feast wth lib'all bountie and good cheare. Himself sitting in a parlor by himself wthout any Company kept the state and was servid wth many dishes all covered."—*Fol. 37, a, A.D. 1571.*

‡ Glasen wyndowis let in the lyght, and kepe out the winde, paper or lyn clothe straked acrossse with losyngz make fenestrals in stede of glasen wyndowes. Wyndowe levys of tymbre be made of bourdis ioyned together with keys of tree let into them. I will have a latesse before the glasse for brekyng. I haue many prety windowes shette with leys goynge up and downe."—*Hormanni Vulgaria* (1519) p.p., 242, 244, in *Parker's Glossary.*

§ In the right splay of the S. window of this recess, about 50 or 60 years ago some wag cut the following lines, which are now a good deal effaced:—

Ever to vex
 The softer sex
 Is an unmanly thing, Sir,
 If that you do
 May they prove untrue
 And you in a halter swing, Sir!

Some years afterwards an answer was subjoined:—

Never to vex
 The softer sex
 Is gallantry too far carried:
 The man is a fool
 Who follows that rule
 And never deserves to be married.

Though this is doggrel, one can forgive the men, that thus sharpened their wits and blunted their knives, more easily than the aftercomers who erased their work.

above which the south gable of the Hall must have towered, ornamented possibly with a large window in its head. Notice the very fine arch which has been rebuilt lately.*

Solars. A south door leads out of the oriel into the Solar-passage.

Nothing much remains to be noticed inside here.† The apartments in the upper-part of the S. W. tower are ruinous (notice the fireplace). A staircase (also of John of Gaunt's time), leads out of the Solar and its cellars to a garderober, in the S. inner wall.

CHAPTER XII.

THE STATE-ROOM RANGE.

In John of Gaunt's time, no doubt a suite of rooms ran eastward as far as the grand Tower and Lobby, which are even now conspicuous ornaments of the Castle.

Whether these had become ruinous by Leicester's time we do not know; at any rate he altered the floor-levels‡ and built largely here, raising the wall, forming a room 58 by

White Hall.	25 feet of singular shape, with two bay windows; and it was called the White Hall. (E. in Plan III).
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Fragments of black and white glass from upper lights of lobby windows, enamelled on inside.

* The repair of the wall was quite necessary, as a very few winters would have brought the whole, arch and all, down.

† In the cellar of the solar apartment, notice the fireplace (1400) with its sunken hearth pan. Did Salvador practice his deadly chemistry here, in Leicester's employ?

‡ In the suite of state rooms running eastward, Leicester raised some of the floors and so gave height to the old cellars.



THE LOBBY, FROM THE NORTH-WEST (ABOUT 1400).

Here a great Oriel window of Leicester's work supplanted an original Norman Tower (? about 1150). The ashlar eoins of it were discovered during recent repairs, interrupted by ties of very Early English, but still of later date.

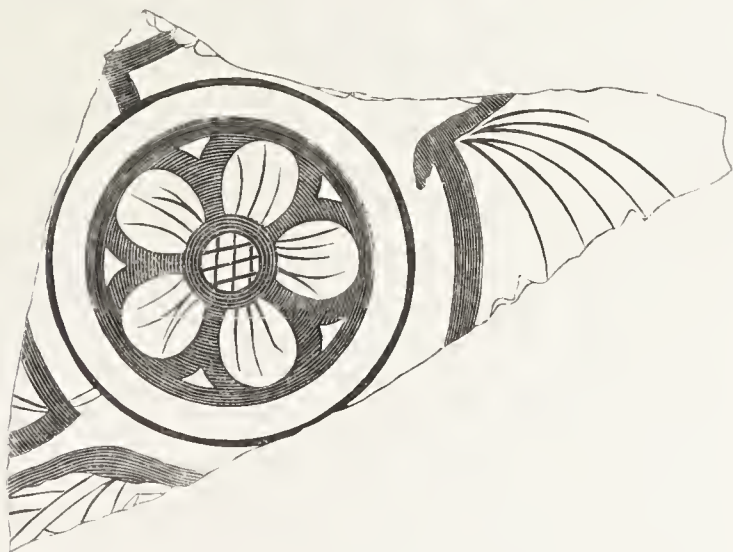
The Plan and view of the Lobby* (about 1400) and of the Great Tower will explain Lobby. nearly everything. The garderobes of the latter must be noticed. Le Duc would call them "monumental."

The cellar windows of the former have one curious feature; they have had shutters, and stanchions, and bars from the first; but besides this, a glass groove has been cut in both, on left side and sill, and awkwardly too, as if by a workman in a bad position. There is no groove on right and top. This was done probably in Leicester's time, who made many alterations in the upper or Presence Chamber, wainseoting it richly. Some of his woodwork is now in the Gateway Tower; and some fragments of very fine plaster-work have been found in recent exeavations.†

Passing on under the Early wall, we come to a drain (14th Century) and a fireplace‡ of the same date, remnants of a building which Leicester partly rebuilt. The room above was called the Privy Chamber; it had a bay window and measured about 23 feet square.

Then the original wall (Plan II) takes a turn N. E. and disappears, though fragments of it are discoverable in the wall of Leicester's building.

* It is likely that Queen Elizabeth entered by a more eastern portal. This is hardly a state entrance. Mr. Parker's informant, though evidently an intelligent man, oddly mistook the lobby for the apse of a chapel, though it has seats in the windows, and does not point eastward.—*Domestic Arch.* III., p.p. 240, 241.—See Pugin for restoration.



† It would not be possible to make better. The cellar was floored with a rougher sort, some two inches in thickness, and the upper room with what is as fair and hard as alabaster, though it has fallen 200 years.

‡ The necessity for re-building the inner face of this wall is much to be regretted: but if the place must be overrun by idle and mischievous people, many necessary evils ensue.

marsh. King Henry VIII., who bestowed great cost in repairing Kenilworth Castle, caused the said banketing house to be taken downe and part of it to be set up in the Base Court at Killingworth.* In this Lent season, whilst the K. lay at Kenelworth, messengers came to him from the dolphin of France named Charles, with a present of Paris balles for him to play withall, but the king wrote to him that he would shortly send to him London† balles, with the which he would breake doone the roofes of houses.”—*Kenilworth Illustrated*.

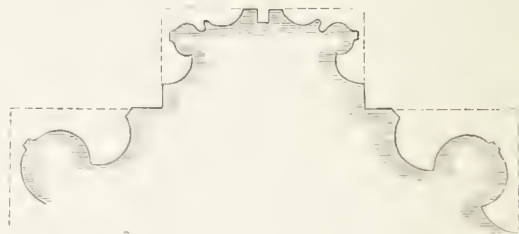
CHAPTER XV.

THE CHAPELS.‡

There were either two or three, in the middle of the 13th Century. One in the Keep, Capella turris. One other, at least, Capella Castri (perhaps the same as Capella Regis).

But we find by Lancham's letter, that on the 10th and 17th July, 1575, Queen Elizabeth attended Divine Service at the *Parish Church*.

Seemingly, the 'Great Court' was then clear. And as, therefore, the larger Chapel
 King's stood somewhere§ there, I think that
 Chapel. Leicester had already destroyed it, [two
 very fine fragments of it (? 1230), are to be seen at
 the Floodgate (or Gallery) Tower], and secularized the
 smaller one in the Keep. The great probability is,
 as I have elsewhere said, that this was in the S. W. turret where he made a second
 staircase.



* A chimney place remains to the W. of the gate. Leland calls it a pretty banqueting-house of timber, that stood thereby in the meere.

† My Lord, Prince Dolphin is very pleasant with me;
 But tell him, that instead of balles of leather
 We will tesse him balles of brasse and yron.
 Yea, such balles, as never were tost in France.

(*The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth.*)

‡ In all Castles mass was said every morning.—*Broadstone of Honour*.

§ At Raby (Durham), the Chapel slopes away from the Hall, 2/3 down it, but the Chapel of Kenilworth Castle must have been built earlier in the 13th Century, a little time after the very beautiful Priory Church, now alas destroyed.



FRAGMENTS OF DECORATED WORK.

Two or three beautiful fragments of Early Decorated work have been discovered, sufficient only to prove that the building to which they belonged was of a very high excellence. It would not be possible, I think, to do finer work in sandstone. Some of them perhaps belonged to a Royal Seat.

Examine the fragment on the title-page.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MANOR, CHASE, AND ESTATE.

The first definite particulars that Dugdale gives us are, that in August, 1266, Henry III. gave by charter to Edmund, his younger son, the Castle, reserving to himself the advowsons of the Priory of Kenilworth, and Abbey of Stoneleigh; and on the 28th December, of that year, conferred on him certain privileges; free chase and free warren* in all his demesne, lands, and woods belonging to this Castle.

In 1267, the king gave him a weekly Mercate (Market) on the Tuesday, and a fair yearly to be held on the Even, Day, and Morrow of the feast of S. Michael.

In 1279, the same Edmund held the Castle 'in demesn,' having two mills standing upon the water of the pool; eight acres of meadow, &c. Also two woods, one called the frith and another the park, then common, and containing 300 acres according to the large measure. At that time it was certified that this park here contained 40 acres of wood, and a pool half a mile in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth, as also that he had here a court leet, gallows, assize of bread and beer, with a market on the Tuesday.

In 1302, John Peche, then Lord of Honily (and in 1322, of Temple Balsall), released his right of common there, so that Earl Thomas (son of Edmund) might hold it up enclosed with ditches and pales; with certain reservations of pasturage.

In Elizabeth's time, Robert, Lord Dudley, enlarged the chase, unpaling part of Blakwell within it, and also a large nook, extending from Rudfen-lane† towards the pool; which being then a waste wherein the inhabitants of Kenilworth had common, in consideration thereof he gave them all those fields called Prior's fields, lying north of the Castle.‡ He is said to have spent £60,000 in all upon buildings, parks, and chase.

See Survey in James the First's time infra.

* License to keep what were called beasts and fowl of warren, such as rabbits, hares, partridges, pheasants, &c.

† Now called Redfen-lane or the Birmingham road.

‡ In 1576, Leicester obtained a grant for a weekly market on Wednesday, and a yearly fair on Midsummer-day.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIREPLACES.

Those of the 13th Century have carved backs for some feet up; those of John of Gaunt's work (14th Century) have straight backs, mostly tiled.

In one fireplace have been found five courses of glazed yellow tiles, made for domestic flooring, not late in the 13th Century.

Only but one chimney shaft has escaped, a mere fragment (13th Century) over the Guard-house.

Leicester's fireplaces have straight backs without tiles (16th Century).

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXTRACTS FROM PIPE ROLLS, &c.

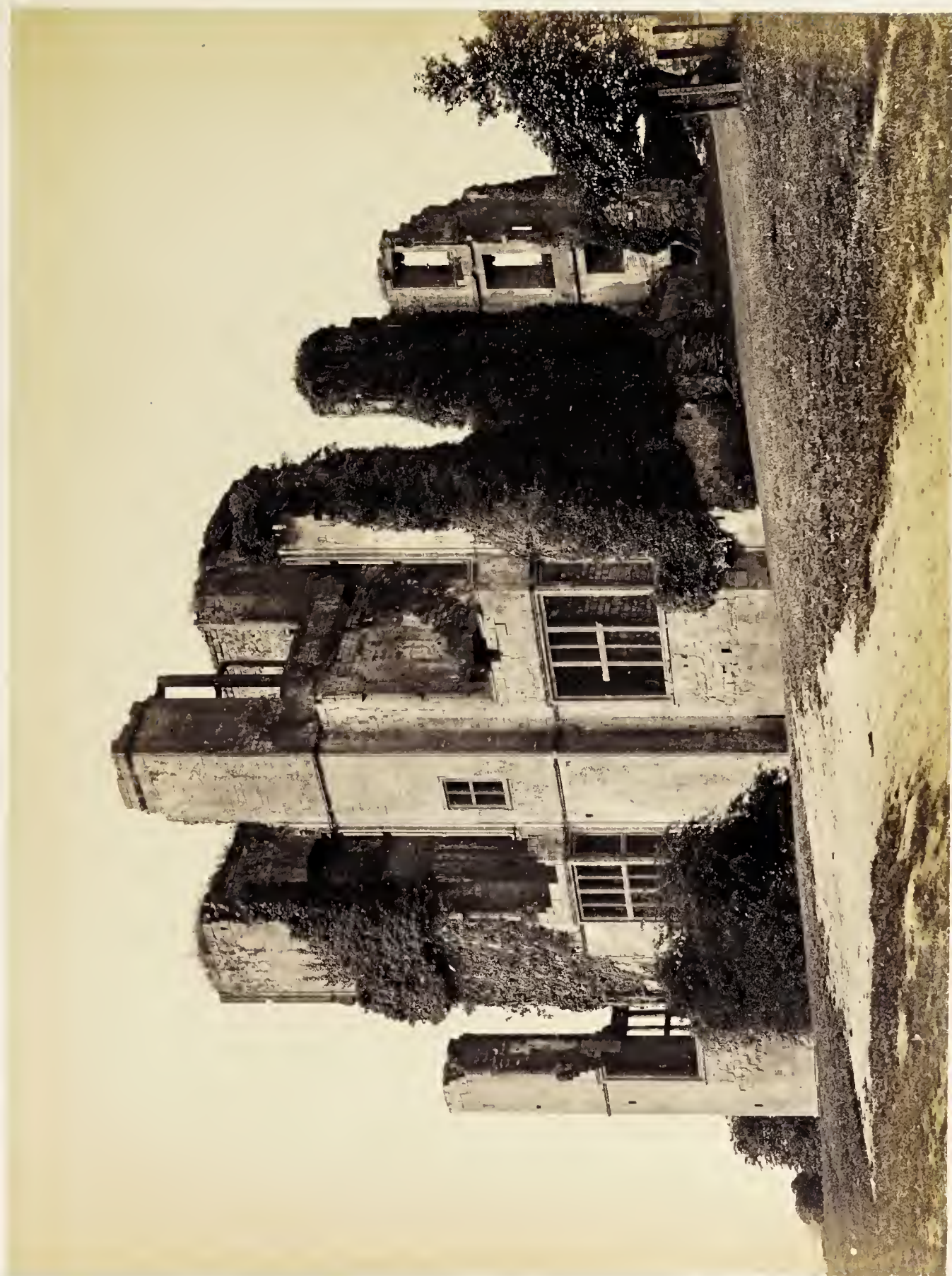
- | | | |
|-------|---------------|---|
| 1165. | 11. Henry II. | The shiriff accounted for the profit of the Park. |
| 1173. | 19. Henry II. | It was possessed and garrison'd by the king, his eldest son (whom he had crowned) then rebelling against him; with whom Lewis K. of France, Rob. Earl of Leicester, Hugh Earl of Chester, and many other great men took part. At which time there was layd in a C. quarters of bread eorn, at viii <i>li</i> . viii <i>s</i> . ii <i>d</i> . charge (being not then much more than 2 <i>d</i> . a bushel;) 20 quarters of barley at 33 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> . (2½ <i>d</i> . a bushell). An hundred hogs at £7 10 <i>s</i> . (18 <i>d</i> . apiece). Forty cows, salted at £4 (2 shillings apiece). cxx cheeses at 40 <i>s</i> . (a groat each) 25 quarters of salt at 30 <i>s</i> . (½ <i>d</i> . lb. nearly). At which time a hundred shillings were allowed for making of a gaol there. |

1174.	20. Henry II.	The same sheriff Bertram de Verdon accounts for large sums for payment of soldiers, horse and foot, therein.
1181.	27. Henry II.	William de la Warde accounts for the Farm of the Ward thereof (? dues from country people in lieu of service). 39 shillings and 50sh. 8d. de perquisitione commorantium in praedictâ Warda. (Some it seems in those turbulent times 'purchased' a right of 'residing' within ward for safety), &c., &c.
1182.	28. Henry II.	Hugo de Rampan accounts for the farm ix shillings.
1184.	30. Henry II.	xxviii. ixs. ix ¹ / ₂ d. spent in repairing the wall, &c.
1185.	31. Henry II.	'Workmanship about the Gaol.'
1187.	33. Henry II.	Michel Belet pays 56 shillings de pasnagio haiae for the paunage or pasturage of the park.
1189. 1190, 1191.	Richard I.	Farm, custody, repairs accounted for.
1204.	5. John.	Hugh de Chaucumb governor in place of Hugh Bardolf, &c.
1212.	13. John.	William de Cantilupe (Sheriff) spent £361 7s. on building upon this Castle.* Also £102 19s. 3½d. on chamber and wardrobe (? the Water Tower in which the Queen's Chamber stood).
1213.	14. John.	£224 more in building.
1216.	17. John.	The same sheriff spends £402 2s. more on repairs. The Castle was now strictly garrisoned under Ralph de Normanville commandant. The King's son being therein.
1219.	3. Henry III.	£150 2s. 3d. spent on re-building a tower (turrella) which had fallen the Christmas before (? the S. W. turret of the Keep which shews later work in windows and arrow-holes).
1221, 1222.	5 & 6. Henry III.	More money in repairs, a hundred shillings each year.

* The £1200 more or less (perhaps £16,000 of our money), which were laid out on the Castle during eight years must include *some* alterations in the keep (? in S. W. turret), perhaps *all* the Northern defences, certainly *great part* of the northern wall, a considerable portion of the inner enceinte, changes in Lunn's Tower, the Water Tower; and possibly the outer Barbican on the Warwick road. It has been argued from the greatness of the sum, and from the existence of a stringcourse in the Keep faces (rare in early Norman domestic buildings), that the Keep must be referred to the reign of John; but the alterations and expensive buildings, consequent upon the adoption of a new system of fortification, and on the alteration of the high level watercourse, and above all, the remains of the original fosse give a sufficient answer to the one argument, and the other is refuted by the existence of Early Norman stringcourses, *e.g.* at the Priory, Dover. (a very similar one, 1139). Such a view is completely untenable.

1223. 7. Henry III. Those who sell wind-fallen trees in the park are ordered to furnish the sheriff a part to repair his dwelling in the Castle, &c.
£17 and $\frac{1}{2}$ mark spent in work, repairs of Castle and (domi) the temporary dwellings inside the walls.
100 shillings spent on the improvement of the Hall, (possibly still in the Keep, though a drain (before 1200) leads to the lake from some large building.
1224. 8. Henry III. 125 shillings spent on building.
1225. 9. Henry III. 42. sh. spent on the earriage of five tuns of wine from Southampton (only 6 days journey).
1227. 11. Henry III. 14. sh. on improvement of the Gaol and of a certain chamber.
1228. 12. Henry III. £10 on improvement of the domi or dwellings along the wall.
1229. 13. Henry III. 100 shillings more.
And $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks on the baiae vivarii; mending the banks of the great pool. Stephen de Segrave, sheriff.
1231. 15. Henry III. 100sh. spent on improvement of the 'domi' (which were of timber and plaster and so perishable) and 20 marks on repair of a certain turret.
1232. 16. Henry III. Again a hundred shillings on improvement of the domi or dwellings.
1233. 17. Henry III. £32 on repairs of the Keep, in *lead*, wood, and stone.
£50 in other repairs.
1235. 19. Henry III. £4 10s. 6d. spent on *the* bridge of the Castle (probably the one under the Keep to the east), and on repairs of the pool banks.
46s. 7d. on improvement of the domi (which evidently need constant repairs).*
1236. 20. Henry III. 47s. 8d. on repairs of the calcetum (dam or causeway) across the valley; part of the stone revêtement *may be* of this date therefore, but perhaps very little indced.
1242. 26. Henry III. This entry, as it is the most important of all, and has been inaccurately copied (it seems by Dugdale) shall be given at length.

* Also, £6 10s. 4d. on a fair and sufficient Oriel or Porch-house (of timber) to the King's Chamber in Lunn's Tower; the put-log holes for which are yet to be seen. It was, as I have elsewhere said (possibly), destroyed by Simon de Montfort, to give his mangonels free play over a low curtain-wall at this salient point.



LEICESTER'S BUILDINGS (1571), FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

“Et in capellâ” castri de Ken. lambruscand’ et depingend’ et pariete ligneo in eâdem faciendo et duabus sedibus in eadem Regis et Reginae decenter depictis. Et in sede Reginae in capellâ turris ejusdem castri quae diruta est reficiendâ et magnâ camerâ ejusdem castri reoperiendâ et gayolâ ibidem cum brethaschiâ in quâ campanae dependant omnibus etiam gutteris ibidem reparandis. Muro etiam ibidem ex parte australi, super vivarii quantum necesse est, prosternendo et reficiendo.

Et in camerâ Reginae ibidem lambruscand’ et lineandâ et fenestris ejusdem camerae frangendis et majoribus faciendis.

Et in caminis camerae Regis et camerae Reginae reparandis, et quâdam privatâ camerâ juxta cameram Reginae, et quâdam novâ camerâ in ballio versus vivarium faciendâ et eâ columpnis lapideis subfulciendâ et muro ejusdem castri reparando, et duabus portis ibidem reparandis.

Quodam etiam muro intra intrinsecum et extrinsecum murum ejusdem castri faciendo, quâdam etiam novâ portien ante cameram Reginae cum quâdam trappâ faciendâ quâdam etiam fenestrâ in capellâ Regis ex parte boreali, et ponte tornitio* faciendo, &c.

In the chapel of the Castle—wainscoting, painting, a wooden screen, seats for King and Queen fairly painted.

In the smaller chapel of the Keep, repairs of the Queen’s seat which had been destroyed.

Re-roofing and repairs of the Great Chamber, and of the Gaol, with bretache or (?) wooden gable turret for bells.

The wall along the necessary extent of pool to be pulled down and re-built.

The Queen’s Chamber to have wainscot, the walls lined (see specimen chap. ix.), the windows broken down and enlarged.

* Corrupt name for “pons versatilis,” we find it also as pont de tornes.

I may note that this word seems sometimes equivalent to ‘parâpets.’

how here walles were broke with engines strong,
here *bretages* al about forbrent and destroyed.—*W. and the Werwolf*, l. 3001.

The chimnies of King's and Queen's Chambers repaired, the lower Privy Chamber to the latter built. See ch. viij.

A new chamber built in the outer bailey towards the pool, with buttresses, see ch. vi., 13, 14, repairs of wall, and two gates, a partition wall in outer bailey. A new porch before the Queen's Chamber, with a trap-door (trappa descendens from one story to another, in lieu of a staircase).

A north window in the King's Chapel, and lastly, a drawbridge. Gilbert de Segrave is made governour.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|--|
| 1244. | 28. Henry III. | Simon de Montfort is made governor. |
| 1248. | 32. Henry III. | The custody given to Elianor, the King's sister, wife to Simon de Montfort. |
| 1250. | 34. Henry III. | The constable is ordered to cut down 6 acres of wood on the road from Warwick to Coventry, for the security of passengers. |
| 1254. | 38. Henry III. | The Castle is granted to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and Elianor his wife, during their lives. |
| 1265. | 49. Henry III. | After the battle of Lewes, many prisoners* were brought here.
One of his sons, Simon, garrisons the Castle with the survivors of Evesham, but on the King's approach, 1266, made his way to Axholme, in Lincolnshire and France for help, leaving Henry de Hastings commandant.
The King in spite of the resistance offered, published the decree or dictum de Kenilworth, allowing the disinherited rebels to recover their lands by fines.
But the Castle held out, and was only reduced after a siege of 6 months by starvation and disease. |
| 1269. | 53. Henry III. | £75 13s. 9d. are allowed to the sheriff, William Bagot, for 255 quarters of wheat, 52 oxen and 173 muttons sent to the King's army during the siege. |
| 1279. | 7. Edward I. | Edmund Earl of Leicester and Lancaster, to whom the Castle had been given in 1266, held a famous †tourney here, probably within the Brays, at which Roger Mortimer, Earl of March was present. |

* Henry III., the King of the Romans, and Prince Edward, besides others.

† This is the celebrated 'Round Table' on which see note in index.

1322. 15. Edward II. The Castle garrisoned for the Crown.
1327. 20. Edward II. The King brought hither a prisoner.
1392. 15. Richard II. John of Gaunt begins building.
- 1411.* Henry V. Builds le ‘plesans en Marys’ the traces of which are seen at the Chase Farm, (see Map I.); it was a square enclosure of some 2 acres, with angle-towers of no great strength. Henry VIII. demolished it.
1484. 2. Richard III. £20 paid to John Beaufitz for divers reparacions made in the Castell of Kyllingworth.
1563. 5. Elizabeth. Robert Dudley begins his changes in the Castle, “filling up a great proportion of the wide and deep double ditch wherein the water of the pool came” as may be seen by the traces of the old wall in the side of the Gateway Tower which projects over the old ditch many feet.
1571. 13. Elizabeth. The Floodgate or Gallery Tower and Leicester’s buildings possibly erected.
1642. Charles I. A slender garrison placed here but withdrawn.†
1649. The Castle was given with the Manor to the following officers of Oliver Cromwell’s army:—
Colonel Hawkesworth; Major (Richard) Creed; Captain (Benjamin) Phippes; Captain Ayres; Captain (Richard) Smith; Captain Matthews; (Captain Robert) Hope; Captain Palmer; Captain Clarke; Captain Coles.
Hawkesworth converted the Gatehouse into a residence, and drained the pool* before 1660.

* Read Henry V., act. 1., se. 1, 2.

† After the battle of Edgehill, for we find that some Royalist prisoners (taken there) were confined in the Castle; *e.g.* Richard Shuckburgh, the merry sportsman, who was a hunting when he met the King, Oct. 22, 1642, he went home, aroused his tenants, and the next day attended the army to the field, where he was knighted, and fought.

* I say pool, not pools, because I fancy that Leicester altered the lower pool very considerably, to make terrace walks. In 1610, the pool (*sing. i.e.* the upper pool) and floodgates are estimated to yield £16 3s. 8d. (Adlard, ‘Amye Robsart’), shewing, I think, that Leicester did drain the lower pool, as we see in Dugdale.

CHAPTER XIX.

THESE SHORT NOTICES OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF
LEICESTER, ARE BASED ON LODGE'S ACCOUNT, AND
ON CAMDEN.

P U B L I C L I F E .

Robert Dudley, the fifth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford, was born in or about 1532.

His father, who surrounded the person of Edward the Sixth with his offspring, procured for him in 1551, the post of one of the six Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and about the same time that of Master of the Buckhounds.

Upon the accession of Mary, he was formally sentenced to death for his relationship to the Lady Jane Grey, but was pardoned and liberated Oct. 18, 1554.

In Easter term, 1555, he went abroad and served at the battle of S. Quentin. Strype tells how he ingratiated himself with Mary and Philip, and indeed, Lodge conjectures that the passionate regard of Elizabeth was won by his adroit and secret services in her behalf.

Elizabeth, on coming to the throne made Dudley Master of the Horse, and in June, 1559, Knight of the Garter, and member of the Privy Council.

In 1563, she gave him Kenilworth,* besides other gifts of value; and seeing his growing influence with the Queen, numerous public bodies† paid profitable court to him (among them notably the city of Coventry). Like his royal mistress he was fond of gifts, though at times he could spend lavishly enough.

In 1564, Sept. 28, he was created Baron of Denbigh; and, on the next day following, Earl of Leicester; and again, before the end of that year, Chancellor of Oxford, and had serious hopes of marrying the Queen.

* When did Robert and Ambrose Dudley assume the Beauchamp-Neville cognizance, the Bear and Ragged Staff? in 1571. The former carved over his new gate-house the Beauchamp arms, with as little or less right, but see note from Sir Philip Sydney, in ch. vii.

† Leicester was made High Steward of King's Lynn before June, 1571, as a gift of £100 was then made to him for certain suits. In the book of the Corporation of King's Lynn, I find a present of 3 great gilt bowles, with covers; 2 gilt graven flaggons; 1 gilt graven spout-pot, worth in all £97 11s. 8d., given to Leicester, Dec. 7, 1597.



NORMAN KEEP OR CÆSAR'S TOWER (BEFORE 1133),
FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

The pretended negotiations for his marriage to Mary Queen of Scots, and for that of Elizabeth to the Archduke Charles, did not much affect his power: in 1569 he was able to overthrow the Duke of Norfolk by treachery.*

The Queen came to Kenilworth in 1566 and in 1568. In the former year, Dudley was made Knight of the Great Order of S. Michel.

In 1570, as is suspected, he removed Sir Nicholas Throckmorton by poison.†

In 1572 and 1575,‡ the Queen again honoured him with a visit at Kenilworth, the expence of which he was enabled the better to sustain, as money came in on all sides and by all means fair and foul. The last and fourth visit was longer than any that she ever vouchsafed to a subject, and some of its heavy magnificence is well described by Laneham. In 1576, he obtained, by grant, a weekly market on Wednesdays, and a fair on Midsummer-days.

In 1577, Elizabeth wrote a letter of thanks to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, for personal attentions to him—but on the discovery (1579) of his marriage to the Countess of Essex,§ her resentment was great—yet she soon pardoned him, and in 1582,|| gave him the triumph of escorting his rival the Duke of Anjou to the Low Countries, where he probably laid the ground-work for that proud appointment which he afterwards held there. On his return (so his enemies allege) he proposed the poisoning of Mary Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth was base enough to listen to his argument, though she did not adopt his suggestion.¶

* See Strickland, vi. p. 313, &c. Darcie, 209, &c.

† Sir Thomas Throckmorton, of Littleton in this county, his nephew, wrote an Historical Poem, “the Legend of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knight, Chief Butler of England, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer.”

‡ The Queen evidently paid *four* visits to this Castle, and therefore, as in 1575, the ‘Lady of the Lake’ sings of her *thrice* coming; it seems that for some convenient reason one of the visits was purposely forgotten. The ‘unlooked-for’ visit in 1568, is proved by the Coventry MS. Annals: which give also a long list of presents made to Leicester.

§ Leicester was accused of having seduced Lady Essex, as well as Lady Douglass. Walter Devereux, her husband, died September, 1576, in Ireland, after suffering grievous torment for 22 days. Camden says of the Queen’s displeasure, “Leycestrum in castellulo Greenvici se continere jussit.”

|| Again the attempt (in 1579) to assassinate the Baron de Simier, agent of the Duke of Anjou, was attributed to Leicester, whose character is bad enough to give colour to any accusations; but it is only just to remember that this and other charges rest on the anonymous authority of “Leicester’s Commonwealth,” a bitter attack, said to have been written by Parsons. See Disraeli’s *Amenities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 315., ed. 1840. Simier had told the Queen of Leicester’s marriage to Lady Essex. The History of . . . Elizabeth . . . Faithfully translated out of the French, by Abraham Darcie, 1624, which seems to be an almost literal translation of the 1st edition of Camden’s *Elizabetha*, gives in its slight variations from the 2nd edition of the original a proof of strong dislike to Leicester. Under 1575, Camden says of Essex (I quote the 2nd edition, 1625), “Planeque nihil abstrusus in aulâ artibus omittitur ut molestiarum assiduitate mitissimus ejus animus contabesceret”—Abraham Darcie. ‘And sure nothing was omitted by the close and subtil dealings of Leicester, with continuall troubles to oppress the milde and peaceable spirit of this noble worthy. Camden of the attempt on Simier (2nd edition). “Nec defuerunt qui cum insinuarunt quasi Tenderium a Regio Satellitio Sicarium ad tollendum Simierum Subornasset,” wh Darcie renders. ‘And they were not wanting that would doe, what he (Leicester) would have them doe. Tender, one of the Queenes guard is suborned to kill Simier.’

¶ While there, Leicester made great outward show of religion, taking care to partake frequently of the Lord’s Supper.—See *Gerard Brandt*. Camden says of his secular ambition, “non dubium quin ille dominationem sibi arripere cogitavit.”—Read the *Quarterly Review*, No. 189, and (by the way) Camden, *MDLXXI*. ed. 1625, p. 211.

In 1585, Leicester was appointed General of the Queen's forces in the United provinces, and was invested by the States with supreme authority; but his government was weak, and his military experience insufficient, and he returned to England in disgust.

His second attempt with new levies in June, 1587, was equally unsuccessful, and he was finally recalled in September.

Yet, the Queen's favour was undiminished; she made him Steward of her Household, Chief Justice of the Forests south of Trent, and in 1588, appointed him to the command of her Army of Defence, as Lieutenant-General. Indeed, but for the remonstrances of Burghley and Hatton, he would have been Vice-General of the whole Kingdom. Baffled for the time, he set off for a brief sojourn at Kenilworth; but his end was approaching; stopping on his way at Cornbury, his seat in Oxfordshire, he was carried off by poison, Sep. 4, 1588.



P R I V A T E L I F E .

On June 4, 1550, Robert Dudley, in presence of Edward the 6th, married Amy (or Anne), daughter of Sir John Robsart, of Stanfield Hall, Norfolk. She died on the 8th September, 1560, by the hands (as it was believed) of Sir Richard Verney and Antony Forster, two of Dudley's retainers. The Manor House at Cunnor was solitary; her servants had been sent to Abingdon Fair; in short, suspicion was aroused, but enquiry was demanded in vain, though the demand afterwards proved an obstacle to his marrying the Queen.* In 1572, he married Douglass, Lady Sheffield, whom he had seduced at Belvoir Castle during a progress of the Queen. A letter dropped by her excited her husband's suspicion; and he hurried to London, but was poisoned by Salvador, Leicester's physician and chemist.

Having married her, by private contract, in Cannon Row, London, (two days after which her son was born) and then solemnly, at Asher in Surrey, in 1573, as was proved on oath, he lived with her some time: and by her he had issue, Robert, whose legitimacy he afterwards basely denied, and a daughter.

But in 1578, he fell in love with Lettice,† daughter of Sir Francis Knowles, and relief of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and deserted the Lady Douglass; he offered her a

* (The Memoirs of Gervase Holles); an amusing extract from a letter (May, 1573), of Gilbert Talbot (in Miss Strickland, vol. 6), describes the sisters, 'my Lady Sheffield and Frances Howard,' as striving who shall love him (Lr.) the best. "There are spies over them."

† The Lady Lettice, who, says Holles, served Leicester "in his own kind every way," was born 1539 or 1540; married, at the age of 26, Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, and after Earl of Essex; then in 1578 she married Leicester; but, it seems, fickle as himself, then she fell in love with Christopher Blunt, 'gent. of the Earle's horse,' whom, after Leicester was disposed of, she wedded, but lost in 1601, with her own son, both being beheaded on Tower Hill; she herself lived on, a hale old lady to the age of 94 years, dying on Christmas Day, 1634.

pension to disown her marriage, but on her refusal he attempted to poison her. She narrowly escaped, with the loss of her hair and nails, and to save her life she publicly married Sir Edward Stafford. [A servant, poisoned while himself engaged in the poisoning of Sir T. Overbury, escaped with the same injury.]

By this his third (?) marriage Leicester had a son Robert, who died in childhood, 1584.

At his death,* in 1588, Leicester, whose personalty was valued at about £30,000, left the Estate of Kenilworth to his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, for his life, then to revert to his long disowned son, Sir Robert Dudley.

Sir Robert, who had been entered at Christ Church, in 1587, as 'Comitis Filius,' an earl's son (Adlard), succeeded to the Estate in 1590; and married Alice, third daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stoneleigh: his children by this marriage were, Douglas, a daughter baptised June 5, 1600; Alicia Frances, who married Sir Gilbert Kniveton; Anne, who married Sir Robt. Holborne; and Catherine, who survived her mother and was wife to Sir Richard Leveson, (Adlard).

[The Duchess Alice died in London, aged 90, Jan. 22, 1668-9.]

Soon after, if not before, the accession of James, in 1603, he laid claim to his father's Earldom, and with this to the Warwick Estates; but his stepmother Lettice opposed him successfully.

In his disappointment he obtained licence to travel for three years, and went abroad. But his enemies at Court obtained his recall, and not obeying he lost his estate as well as his claim. His Castle and Manor were seized on to the King's use, under the Statute of 'Fugitives' (? outlaws): see extracts in Kenilworth Illustrated.

Like his father, goodly and accomplished, ('Aulicus omnibus numeris absolutus') but loose in morals, he left the Lady† Alice in England, and persuaded Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Wood Rising, in Norfolk, to elope with him in the disguise of a page—a papal dispensation for their marriage was obtained, about 1606. They were received with distinction by the Grand Duke of Tuscany; a pension of nearly £1000 was settled on him, so that he could afford, in 1611, to resign his worthless claim to his

* Sir Robert Naunton writes, that he swallowed, by mistake, poison that he had prepared for some other person. A MS. quoted by Bliss, in his edition of the *Athenae Oxonienses*, says that it was given by Lettice his wife; and Drummmond of Hawthornden says that having received it from him as a cordial medicine, she gave it him innocently. Camden says of his property "Cum antem in aere Reginae asset, bona auctione divendita." He was in the Queen's debt and his goods were sold by Auction.

† This Lady Alice, on the 4th May, 1621, resigned her jointure in the Kenilworth Estate to Prince Charles: in 1638 she gave for the altar of S. Nicholas' Church, Kenilworth, its unsurpassed Flagon, Charger, Chalice and Covers, the work of some eminent London goldsmith. Charles the First made her a duchess. Her daughter Alicia, in 1624, augmented the Vicarage with some lands at Mancetter. There is a monument in Stoneleigh Church to the memory of both these ladies.

Estates to Prince Henry. In 1620, he was made Duke by the Emperor Ferdinand the 2nd*, and this title (with the addition of 'Northumberland') was shared with him by both his true and his sham wife, and descended to his son Charles.

He built himself a palace in Florence; and his daughters, by Elizabeth Southwell, married Princes of the Empire.

He died in 1649, in Florence; [He drained some morasses between Pisa and the sea, and wrote 'Del Arcano del Mare' and other works.]†

POSTSCRIPT I.

OF AMY ROBSART.

In Harl. MS. 897, f. 80, b. [Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, December, 1864], we have the funeral certificate of Amy Robsart.

"Lady Amie Robsart, late wyff to the right noble the lord Robert Dudley, Knight, and companion of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the Queenes most excellent majestie, died on Sunday, the 8th September, at a howsse of Mr. Forester, iij myles from Oxford, in the 2 yere of Quene Elizabeth 1560; and was beryed on Sondag the 22 of September next enshewenge, in our Lady Churehe of Oxford."

The reader will recollect that Amy's husband acquired the Castle of Kenilworth in June, 1563, and received the Queen in state, 1575.

An attempt has been lately made by Mr. Adlard, following Mr. Pettigrew, to clear Robert Dudley of the grave charge of murdering his poor deserted wife.

It is based 1, on the internal evidence of Leicester's letters and conduct. 2, on what is known of Amy Robsart's behaviour. 3, on the formal verdict of the Jury. 4, on the date and character of Parsons' (?) libel (Leicester's Commonwealth), 1584. 5, on Sir Philip Sydney's generous answer thereto.

* 'The Duke' was created a Roman Patrizio by patent in 1630.

† Sir Francis Leake writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Sutton, July 6, 1605. "I am sorrie for Sr. Roberte Dudleye's greatt ouerthroe, because I was muche bounde in dewtie to hys father; and yf he doe marrie Mrs. Southwell ytt ys felonie by these laste statutes." *i.e.* of James. I, c. xi.

For fuller details of Sir Robert Dudley, his voyage in 1594 to Trinidad, &c, see Mr. Adlard's 'Amy Robsart.' He is there said to have probably had for his first wife a sister of Thomas Cavendish.

Now first, Lord Robert Dudley upon receipt of the horrible news did not hurry from the Court to Cumnor, but went off to his house at Kew. He did not even attend the funeral at Oxford, afraid, it seems, of facing the people of the neighbourhood and such orators as Babington.

Both he and his kinsman* Blount are desperately anxious to hear the popular rumours and afraid of his being suspected.

2, Mr. Adlard suggests that Amy, Lady Dudley, may have committed suicide:—But this is more inconsistent with the verdict of ‘*mischaunee*’ than any other theory;—and seems but ill-supported by the evidence “that she prayed to be delivered from desperation.” That she was a prudent sensible woman we may gather from her extant letter (given by Wright and by Adlard); she was now 28 years old, and it is not very common for persons of that age to die of falling *down stairs*, or to choose that method of suicide. That she was most unhappy, and had the gravest reasons for unhappiness, is too evident.

But even if we grant her husband all that is now alleged, he really was guilty of her death.

3, The verdict of the Jury carried little weight, except with those, who like the Queen, favoured Dudley more than he deserved, or those who were in fear of him, as many were.

Scarcely a week after the death of Lady Amy, that verdict was publicly challenged, and an inquiry petitioned for by Thomas Lever, a noted divine of high character; but Leicester was at Court, and the appeal was stifled.

4, The libel (of Parsons) was (it is true) posterior to Amy’s death by many years, but it only made public what had long been kept safely enough in documents and in malicious memories; and

5, Whatever must be on this score deducted from its weight, must also be taken from Sir Philip Sydney’s generous defence of Dudley.

All our notables are being rehabilitated one after another, with more or less ingenuity, but I see no sufficient cause for acquitting Robert Dudley†. That he did murder Amy, no one ought to say; but that he was wicked and unscrupulous enough to wrong and murder any woman, and that he did wrong *her* is, I think, most manifest. Unfortunately, Anthony Forster’s dwelling can bear now no evidence either way, but it seems hasty to assume that murder *cannot* be quietly done in a house where two gentlewomen like Mrs. Odingsells and Mrs. Owen are residing, though their presence is certainly an argument of *some* weight against it.‡

* Their correspondence beginning Sept. 9, 1560, was discovered in the Pepysian Library by Mr. Craik.

† Of his political puritanism and religious profession there are many proofs.—Collier Ecc. Hist. viii. p. 15, &c.

‡ See again Quarterly Review, No. 189.

POSTSCRIPT II.

LEICESTER'S EXPENCES IN THE
LOW COUNTRIES.

I am enabled by the kindness of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge, to give my readers a few extracts from the Book of Expences of the Earl of Leicester, in 1585-6, beginning after his arrival at Flushing.

Laied out the xith of December, 1585.

Delivered to Mr. Burburyc w^{ch} he gave in reward to the porters
Guñers & wachemen at flusinge by yo^r l. co^mandmt the sum of five
pounds

v^{li}

To George Brooke yo^r l. servant w^{ch} he gaue in reward to the poore
of the church at fflusinge by yo^r l. co^mandmt twentye shillings

xx^s

Paid to Mr. Grey the Shipmaster for the discharge of all yo^r l. hoyes
to the Burgomasters or waterbalyfes of fflusinge by yo^r l. com[']andmt
twentye shillings

xx^s

More to George Brooke the same day w^{ch} he gave in reward to the
muzitions of the shipp w^{ch} yo^r l. came in called the Amatist twentye
shillings

xx^s

The xiith of December.

Delivered to Rafe Moore the same day w^{ch} he payed to Edmund Carve
yo^r l. servant being borrowed of him & lost by your l. in play on shipborde
as you came to fflusinge twentie shillings.

xx^s

The xiiith of December.

Paied to Lawrance Ramsey the xijth of November for his horse hyre
from London to Harwiche as appeareth by his byll vnder Mr. Blunte
hands

x^s

Paied to foure of yo^r l. footemen the same day for their dyet &
lodginge at Harw^{ch} & there suppers & lodginge at Mydlborowe the fyrst
night when yo^r l. lay at Flushing as appeareth by their byll vnder mr.
Blunte hand

To Robert Tyder the same day w^{ch} he gave in reward by m^r. Blunte eo^mandm^t from yo^r Ex. to eerten poore Duche men laborers w^{ch} workinge stone out of a seller by the street eraved of yo^r Ex. as you ridd by to shewe yo^r selfe & see the towne of myddelborow.

Delivered to yo^r l. three ehaplens the xiiijth of Deeember vz to m^r. John Knewstub to m^r George Gyfford & m^r Dudley Ffenor at Myddlbrow by yo^r l. eo^m'andm^t the some of thertie pounds

xxx^{li}

Geuen to Owyn yo^r l. Armorer of Kyllingworthe the same day (xvth) by yo^r eo^mandm^t fortye shillinge

xl^s

Paied the xvth of Deeember to Steuene Jonson your l. Servant for a gerdell and hangers of gold silver & blaek silke made by yo^r Ex.* eo^m-andm^t for a short sword w^{ch} was geven yo^r l. by m^r. Nyeolas Sanders & for tow brushes for yo^r l. wardrobe as appeareth by a byll under his hand

lij^s

Paied the same day (xvjth) to Doetor James by yo^r l. eo^mandm^t for a reame of paper eleven shillings

xi^s

Delivered the same day (xvijth) to m^r Heigham Captayne w^{ch} he gave in reward by yo^r Ex: eo^mandm^t to nyeolas Stase mayster of the barke called the Graee of God, w^{ch} earied yo^r l. provision of beere wyne etc from London to fflushinge havinge suffered greate losse in his passage by wether

Paied the same day to charles m^r Seeretaries man w^{ch} he gaue in reward by yo^r eo^mandm^t to a Dueheman that brought yo^r l. towe flowers of waxe lyke unto nosegayes aboard yo^r hoye at yo^r l. firste enteranee

xx^s

Yo^r l. lost in play the same day (xxijth) at nighte in Counte morisses hoye at Doble hand Lodam

l^s

To the mayster of my l. Embassadors hoye the same day that earried yo^r l. alonge yo^r jorney to Hollande havinge forsaken yo^r owne in the way by reson of the unsweetnes thereof by yo^r l. eo^mandm^t twenty crownes

v^{li}

Sente to yo^r l. the xvijth of Deeember by m^r Fflud yo^r l. seeretarie to my l. Embassadors hoye where yo^r l. played wth Sr William Russell at Tantos by yo^r Co^mandm^t twentie pounds w^{ch} money yo^r l. reservs still in yo^r owne purse for playe

xx^{li}

Paied the same day (xxijth of Deeember) at Dort for three Flemish ells of blaek silke broad ryben for yo^r l. vse for a gerdell

ii^s vi^d

* Camden (p. 509, Ed. 1625), Excellentiaque titulo, quo primus Anglorum usus erat, exploso.

Delivered to John wake yo^r l. servante the same day at Dort w^{ch} he gaue in reward by yo^r Ex: co^mandm^t to the Ducke hunters w^{ch} yo^r l. wente to see for the straungenes of there maⁿer of takinge.

xx^s

To mr. Gyfford yo^r l. chaplen w^{ch} he gaue in reward by your co^mandm^t the same day to the scolmasters at Dort y^t presented verses to yo^r l.

xl^s

Geven in reward the same night by yo^r l. co^mandm^t to the mynister of Rotterdam that presented yo^r l. wth a booke

v^{li}

The xxvjth of December.

To the orgen player of the church of Delphe the same day by yo^r l. co^mandm^t

xx^d

xxxth of December

To the saied Vnderhill the same day w^{ch} he delivered yo^r l. to cast to a boy that slidd uppon the ise under yo^r bed-chamber window at the Haghe

xii^d

Paied to m^r Downhall yo^r l. Secretarie the same day for tow cards bought by yo^r l. co^mandm^t on the whole world an other of Holland Zealand Ffriseland & Gelderland

xiii^s

Geven in reward to yo^r l. players the same day by your co^mandment ten pounds

x^{li}

Paied to Richard Gardner yo^r l. groome the same day for tow fyre-shovels & towe paire of tonge for yo^r l. bed-chamber and wth drawinge chamber at Delphe &c. as appereth by his byll

iiij ij^d

The first day of Januarie.

Geuen in rewarde the same day to the corne-cutter by yo^r l. co^mandm^t

x^s

Paied to Robart Ffalwell Cole-bearer for an axe to cleave wood for yo^r l. Chamber the same day as appereth by his byll vnder m^r George hand

ij^s

Paied the same day at the Haghe for the furringe of yo^r l. taffeta gowne wth fox foure pounds ten shillings

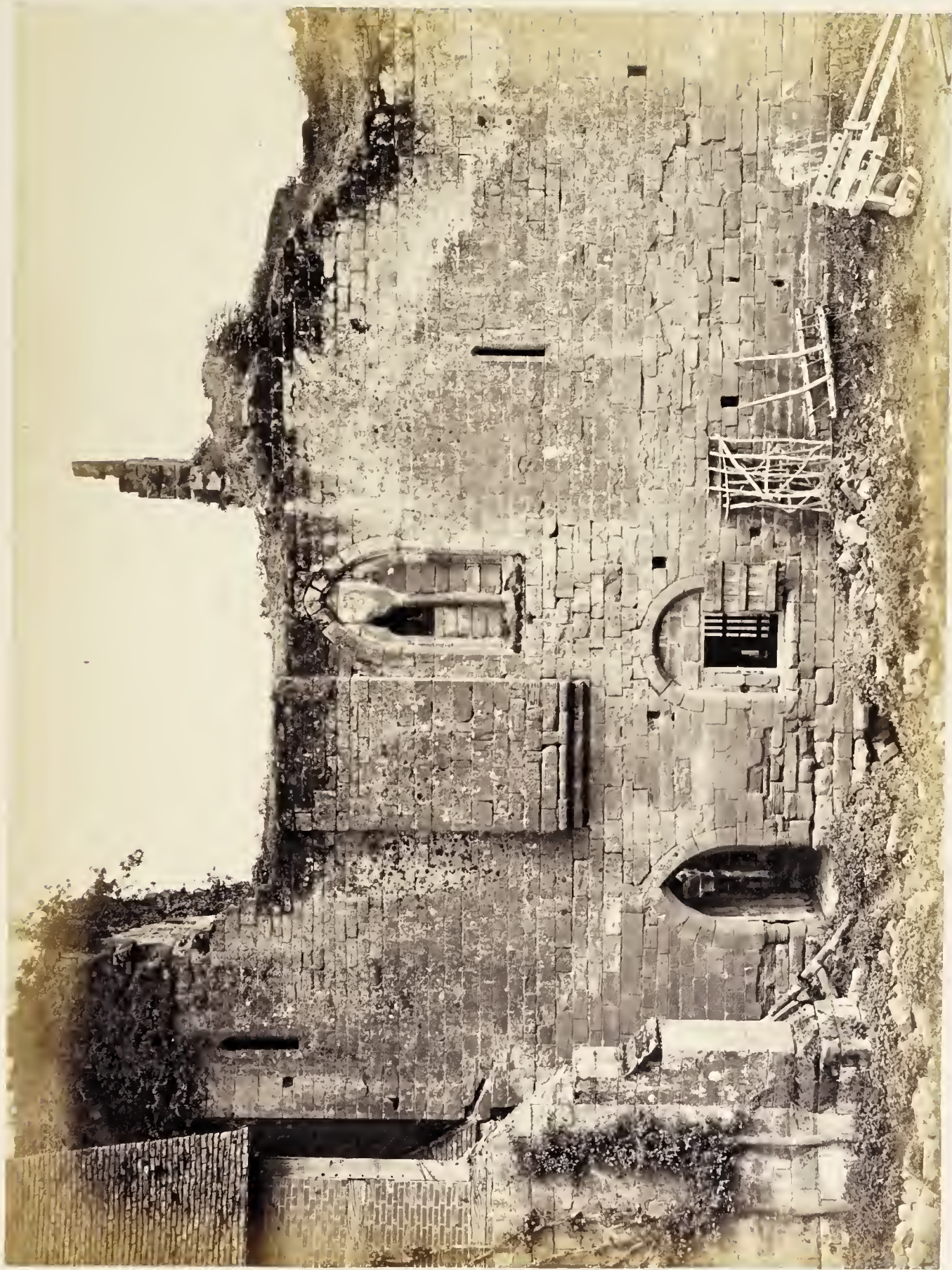
iiij^{li} x^s

To yo^r l. players that go baeke into England for ther charge by yo^r l. co^mandm^t the same day.

xl^s

Geven in reward by yo^r l. co^mandment to a Ducheman Porter of the house that presented yo^r l. wth pyctooth the same day

x^s



WATER TOWER—INNER FAÇADE (13TH CENTURY).

Yo^r l. gave William Kempe the player therten shillings the same night (ij Jan) in yo^r bedehamber out of the ten pounds which I gave yo^r l. for play wth Count Moris & my lord of Essex at doble hand Lodam with thertye shillings yo^r l. saied was in exchange of a rose noble w^{ch} was geuen him by Count Hollocke yo^r l. lost in playe the same night (the iiij) at Leiden in yo^r bedehamber at the doble hand Lodam against Count Moris & my l. of Essex & betting with Sir William Russell

x^{li}

Paied to Robert Litehford yo^r l. servant the same day for the washing of yo^r l. lynen at Myddelborow Dort and Haghe & for the mending of yo^r L. Cloeke at Haghe and cariage of yo^r bed trunke & chest with armor for yo^r owne bodie from Haghe to London as appereth by a byll vnder his hand

xxxj^s

Yo^r l: loste in play wth my l. North S^r William Russell & M^r Digbye the same night (iv Jan.) in yo^r bed-chamber at single Lodā fortye shillings

xl^s

To Riehard Pepper yo^r l. footman w^{ch} he gave in reward by yo^r l. eo^mand the same day (vth) to Count Morices fawkeney y^t presented yo^r l. wth a eople of hearnes & a bitter in yo^r coche as you ridd betweene Leiden and Haghe

x^s

Paied the same day at Leiden for six yards of blaeke satten at xij^s the yard w^{ch} yo^r l. gave to the gentle-woman y^t keeps the howse where yo^r l. laye there by yo^r eo^mandm^t

iiij^{li}. xii^s.

Paied to yo^r l. Goldsmythe in Haghe the vith of Januarie 1585 for xij payre of agletts of angell gold weighing one oūce three quarters at three pounds y^e ounce as appereth by a bill of his hand fyve shillings for the makinge of the same agletts fiftene shillings

vi^{li}

Paied the same day (vijth Jan.) for carnation riben to xii paire of gold tags w^{ch} ware made for yo^r l. at Haghe.

v^s. vi^{li}

Paied the same day (ix Jan.) at Haghe by yo^r l. eo^mandm^t to a merchant of myddleborow for xiiij ounces of gold & silver laee wth a byase worke in the myddest eontayninge xxi yards at viij^s the ounce w^{ch} laee was laied vppon a buffe gerkin the some fyve pounds twelve shillings

v^{li} xij^s.

Paied the same day (xvj. Jan) at Leiden to ffredericke the Italian Inginer for a slead & furniture bought at Amsterdam by yo^r l. eo^mandm^t ten pounds

x^{li}

THE CASTLE OF KENILWORTH.

The xxth of January.

Paied the same day for a skryne of wicker for yo^r l. bedchamber
wthout a frame

iii^j^sxxith of January

To m^r. Doctor James the xxith of January w^{ch} he gave in reward at
Leiden by yo^r l. co^mandm^t to m^r. Dudley yo^r l. paige uppon his goinge
away with m^r. Sidney forty shillings

xl^s

Paied to Humfrey Adlington yo^r Ex: footeman for a bottle of new
renishe wyne w^{ch} he was co^manded to fetch the xxiii^j of January at
diⁿer tyme for yo^r Ex: to tast.

ij^s

Paied the same day (xxx Jan) for the amendm^t of the small cheanes
of y^t George w^{ch} yo^r l. brake at yo^r lightinge of yo^r horse betwene Leiden
and Haghe.

Delivered to Lawrance Ramsay the laste of January to bye the pic-
ture of a burgomaster at Leiden w^{ch} was made by yo^r Ex: co^mandm^t ther
foure pounds

iv^{li}

To m^r Heiden the same day w^{ch} he gave in reward by yo^r ex: co^m-
andm^t to the three keepers of the councell chamber dowers at the Haghe
thertie shillings

xxx^s

Paied to Raffe Moore the same day for iiij payre of spectacles at xij^d
the payre to yo^r Ex: vse

iiij^s

The therde of February

To m^r Hynde the same day w^{ch} he gave in reward by yo^r Ex: co^mandm^t
to the mayde in the Boores house where yo^r Ex: lighte & went in as you
ridd a hawkinge at the pye.

v^s

Paied by yo^r Ex: co^mandm^t the vth of february to m^r. Wylliam
Clerke Doctour of the Civill law for the printing & byndinge of rewle
booke of the mylitary lawes as appereth by his byll onder his hand

iiij^{li} iiij^s

Geven in reward the same day at the Haghe by yo^r Ex: co^mandm^t
to m^r Edmond Carew at his goinge over into England twentie pounds

xx^l

More the xth of february to the saied Mr. Carew uppon his request
to yo^r Ex: as money imprest thirtie pounds.

xxx^{li}

CHAPTER XX.

SURVEYS OF THE CASTLE IN THE
REIGN OF JAMES I.

(FROM KENILWORTH ILLUSTRATED.)

THE CASTLE OF KILLINGWORTH SITUATE UPON A ROCK.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Circuit | 1. The Circuite whereof within the walls conteyneth 7 acres, upon which the walls are so spacious & faire that two or three persons may walke together upon most places thereof. |
| Building | 2. The Castle with the 4 Gatehouses all built of freestone hewen and cutt, the walls in many places of 15 and 10 foot thicke, some more, some lesse, the least fower foot in thicknes square. |
| Covering | 3. The Castle and 4 Gatehouses all covered with lead, whereby it is subject to no other decay than the glasse through the extremity of weather. |
| Roomes | 4. The Roomes of great State within the same & such as are are able to receave his Ma ^{ty} the Queen & Prince at one tyme, built with as much uniformity and conveniency as any houses of later tyme, and with such stately sellars all caried upon pillars and architecture of free stone carved and wrought as the like are not within the kingdome, and also all other houses for offices aunswerable. |
| Chases & Parks | 5. There lieth about the same in Chases and Parks £.1200 p ann, £.900 whereof are grounds for pleasure, the rest in meadow & pasture thereto adjoining. Tennants and Freeholders. |

- Kingswood Copses 6. There joyneth upon this ground a parklike ground called Kings Wood, with 15 several coppisses lyeng altogether conteyning 789 acres within the same, which in the Earle of Leicesters tyme were stored with red Deere since which the Deere, strayed, but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of Tymber & other Trees of much valewe upon the same.
- Poole* 7. There runneth through the said grounds by the walls of the said Castle a faire Poole conteyning 111 acres well stored with fish and fowle which at pleasure is to be lett round about the Castle.
- Tymber & Woods 8. In Tymber and woods upon theis grounds to the valew (as hath been offered) of £.20000 having a convenient tyme to remove them, which to his Ma^{tie} in the Survey are but valewed at £.11722 which proportion in a like measure is held in all the rest upon the other valewes to his Ma^{ty}.
- Compasse. 9. The Circuit of the Castle, Manors, Parks, and Chase lieing round together conteyne at least 19 or 20 miles in a pleasaunt countrey, the like both for strength, state, and pleasure not being within the Realme of England.
- Survey 10. Theis lands have been surveied by Commission^{rs} from the King and the Lo : Privy Seale with direcions from his L^p. to finde all things under the true worth, and upon oath of Jurors as well as freeholders as custumary Tenants, which course being held by them are notwithstanding surveied and returned at £38554. 15s. Out of which for Sr. Rob : Dudleys contempt there is to be deducted £10000. [and] for the La : Dudleys Joynture which is without ympeachment of wast, whereby shee may fell all the woods which by the survey amount unto £11722, what shal be thought reasonable.

* The floodgates were rented at £6 13s. 4d. a year in the time of James the First. No second or lower pool is here mentioned. Leicester had probably drained it.

	£.	s.
The Totall of the Survey	}	In Land . . 16431 9
ariseth as followeth,		In Woods . 11722 2
viz.		The Castle . 10401 4

His Ma^{tie}: hath herein the meane profitts of the Castle and premisses through S^r Robt: Dudleyes contempt during his life or his Ma^{ts}: pardon. The Revercon in fee being in the Lo: privy seale.

VALUATION.

There is a valuation of the Castle of Kenilworth in the British Museum, Cotton MSS. Tiberius, E. viii. evidently made about this period, but the signature and date are so much injured by the fire in the Cotton Library as to be illegible. The Manors of Kenilworth and Rudfin were valued at the same time, the former at 21,010*l.* 16*s.* the latter amounted to 38,554*l.* 15*s.*

The valuation of the Castle is as follows:—

Castle of Kenelworthe, &c. The Circuit whereof within the utter walls cont.
6A. 3R. 14P.

		Valew
		£. s. d.
Although most of y ^e wals	In frestone at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> the tun	Tuns
are of very great thicknes	& cariadge	703574 . . . 9196 15 0
yet this computacon riseth		
but at 4foot throughout in	In workmanship digging &	£. s. d.
thickness of Hewen stone.	laieng at 20 <i>d.</i> each tun .	6670 14 4
	Arehed vaults & pillers of	£.
	frestone valued at . .	834
	Paving of frestone at 2 <i>d.</i>	Feet
	the foot	14540 . . . 121 3 4
	Timber in y ^e buildings at 8 <i>s.</i>	Tuns
	the tun	1185 . . . 474

The survey of the Castle and Possessions at Kenilworth here given, is a verbatim copy of the Cotton MS. Vespasian F. ix. being the document consulted by Dugdale, but not printed by him in the original spelling, and having an omission in the tenth article.

All y^e pipes for caridge of
y^e water from y^e cundit hed
being 3q^{rs} of a myle distant
is in the title of Lead.

Lead all y^e buildings being

eover'd therewith at	£12	Tuns lb	£.	s.	d.
the tun		124½ 80	1494	8	6

Iron barrs of windowes &c.

2991 at 2d. the pound	Waight	£.	s.	d.
waighte	19565 ^{lb}	163	0	10

Casem^{ts} for windowes at son-
drie rates

Casem ^{ts}	£.	s.	d.
193	86	2	0

Glasse in windowes besides
seecheons of y^e Kings Armes
& of other noblemens at 3d.
y^e foot

Feete	£.	s.	d.
8617	107	14	3

¶ The ehamber of p^rnçe is of
verie curious woorke wain-
seotted with the doores &
the portals also.

Carved & Imbossed wains-
cott & inlaid in ehymney
pees, portals and other
playner wainseot

valued at	£.	s.	d.
	813	5	9

¶ presence }
chamber }

A Chimney pece & pells
tuehestone in the p^rnçe with
one of Allablaster curiouslie
wrought in y^e privy ehamber,
& one other of frestone in
the great ehamber. . . .

valued at	£
	300

A fountaine of white marble,
engraven round about with
storie woorke with the
Queenes seat of freestone
both being in the garden .

valued at	£
	50

A clocke Bell which waieth
500^{lb} waight & the cloeke .

valued at	£
	30

Coppers & brewing vessels in
the Castle

valued at	£
	60



"CHIMNEY PECE OF ALLABLAISTER, CURIOUSLY WROUGHT
FROM YE PRIORY CHAMBER." (1571).

MASONS' OR BANKERS' MARKS.

Hawkeswerth's Poreh
of old materials

Some few of Leicester's ashlar stones may be of older date.

CHAPTER XXII.

NOTICE OF BASE MOULDINGS.

The Reader will see without much difficulty the difference of date. 'B' is a very weak though a genuine base, certainly some of the earliest work in the Castle, and not later than 1136.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In Le Due. s. v. Chateau we read out of Guillaume de Lorris, Roman de la Rose, v. 38.

Vous poissiés les mangoniaus
Véoir pardessus les ereniaux.

When Simon de Montfort (the father) was besieging Toulouse he made himself master of a chateau outside, which (rightly or wrongly) passed for a Roman work, but whose walls were very high. Being pressed for time, (rather than raze the walls between the towers) to allow of the establishment of large engines, he made terrace works inside.

Thus, the defensive system of castles before (or about) the second half of the 13th Century consisted in towers of considerable command, joined by curtains of small elevation so as to permit the setting up of powerful machines placed upon the ground, the tops of which were as de Lorris says, visible above the battlements (So Le Due.) Therefore, as is elsewhere noted, the 'fair and competent' oriol of (1235) the King's Chamber *may* possibly have come to an untimely end about 1260, at the hands of the same great Engineer's son, the report of whose machines at Kenilworth frightened the men of his time.

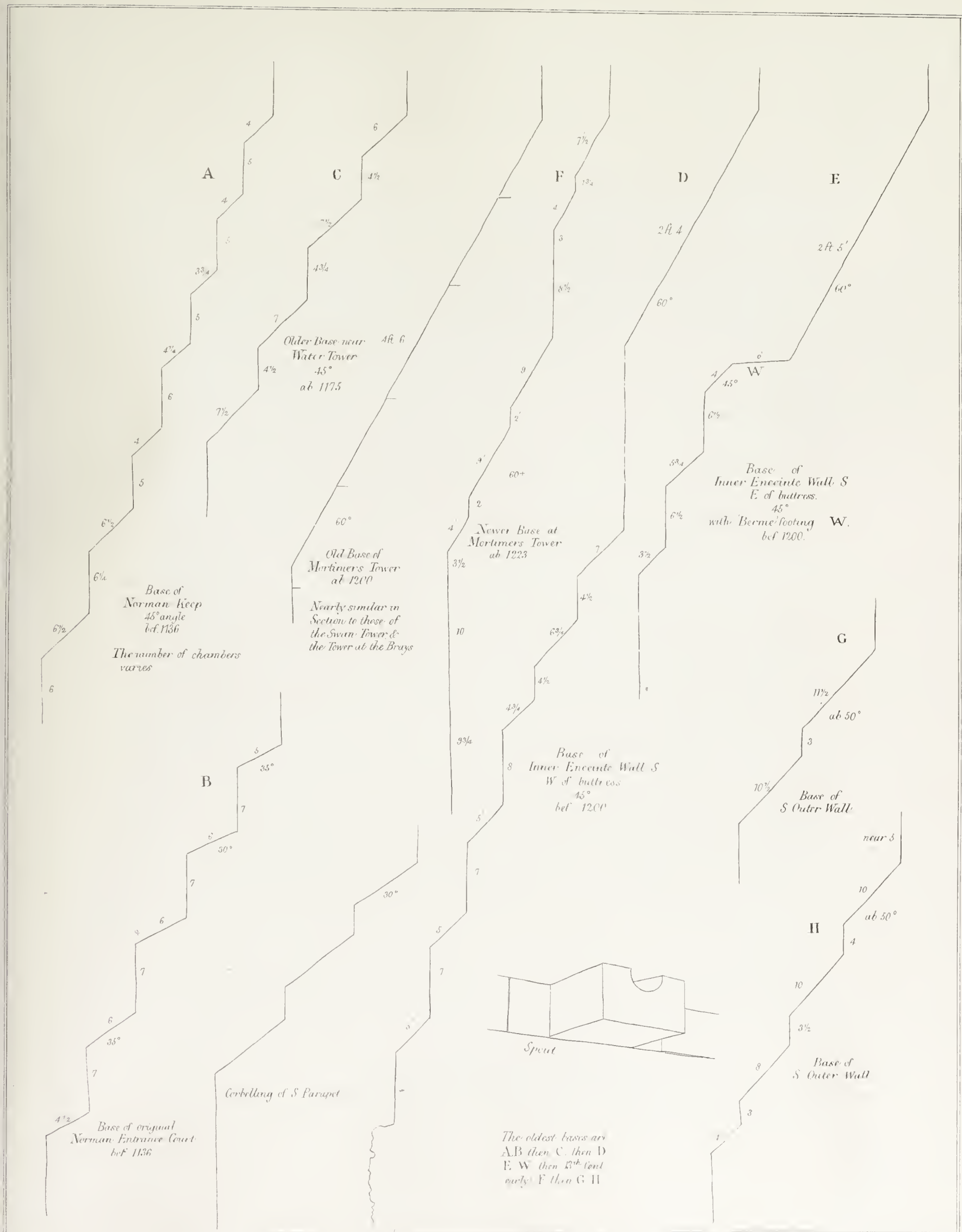
The mangonel and petraria differed as to size chiefly.

Will. Brito in Du Cange.

Interea grossos petraria mittit ab intus

Assidue lapides, mangonellusque minores.

"Meanwhile, from within, the perrière discharges right big stones unceasingly, and the mangonels sends lesser ones."



SECTIONS OF EARLY BASE MOULDINGS KENILWORTH CASTLE

The spherical stones, roughly hewn, of considerable diameter, which are still to be seen here, have probably been made for the perrière; but this may have been called mangonel* in England, where it was previously little known.

It was long before these machines (formidable alike to both sides) gave way to cannon; but when our modern system of artillery became really effective, then both the ancient fortifications and the ancient engines were given up. Le Due gives an excellent account of this revolution in the science of war.

A small working model may be seen in the Gateway Tower.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EXTRACTS FROM AN 'ACCOUNT,' DRAWED UP BY WILLIAM BEST, VICAR, 1716.

1645, Cromwell's Army enter Kenilworth and lodged in the Church.

In the year 1648, Jan. 30, that Good King of ever glorious memory was Barbarously murdered. Soon after, the Usurper Cromwell gave the manor of Kenilworth to his Officers belonging to his Army, viz.:—Coll^t Hawkesworth; Major Creed; Capt. Phippes; Capt. Ayres; Captain Smith; Capt. Matthews; Hope; Palmer; Clark; Coles. These new Lordes of the mann^r tyranize and govern the Parish as they list. They pull down and demolish the Castle, cut down the King's woods, destroy his parks and chase, and divide the lands into farms, amongst themselves, and build houses for themselves to dwell in. Hawkesworth posts himself in the Gatehouse of the Castle and drains† the famous Pool, consisting of several hundred Aeres of ground. Hope and Palmer enelose a fourth part of eomons called the King's woods from the Inhabitants' Liberty, and take it as their own free Estate.

In the year 1657, these Petty Lords, with some of the Inhabitants of the Parish, took a survey and gave in an estimate of all the lands within the liberties of the said Mann^r. And in the following year 1658, viz.: June 14th, they in great pomp and

* Or generally "Engine."

As doth the routing of the stone
That from the engine is let gon.—*Chance's House of Fame.*

† I have affixed the date (before 1660) to this Act of Hawkesworth, because of Dugdale's silence in 1656, his engraving gives the pool, and though he does not profess to bring down his history to that date, it seems safer to suppose that the pool may have been drained *about* 1656.

ceremony, make their perambulation and goe their procession round the Bounds of the Parish.

But what is very remarkable, during the 20 years Rebellion and Usurpation, these Rapacious* Vermin never once seized on the noble plate belonging to the Communion Table, nor ever attempted to engross to themselves or alienate the Tithes from the Church.

But from time to time set up Ministers and allowed them to have and enjoy all the Tythes the said John Best dyed possessed of, according to the endowments of the said Rob—— Earle of Leicester.

In the year 1660, May 29th, King Charles the 2nd was Restored to his Crown, and came to enjoy his own dominions, and among other lands the Mannor of Kenilworth. Then these Lords Soldiers soon scampered away, and the Daughters of the said Lord Cary, Earl of Mommouth, intercede and prevail to hold the said Mannor as their father did before them by Lease or Leases from the Crowne.



CHAPTER XXV.

SIEGE OF KENILWORTH.

Thes riche. Men. wened bon siker
 Thurh walle and thurh diche.
 The dedd his echte on sikere stude
 he hit sent to henenriche.

Poema Morale. xij Century.

Great as Henry III. was in many things, he was neither a great King, like his son Edward, nor a great General like Simon de Montfort, his brother-in-law; and the misconduct of his foreign wars caused discontent among his nobles, 1242-1253.

To attach de Montfort to himself, and secure if he could the loyal adhesion of the strongest fortress in the district, he first made him Governor of the Castle and Manor, and then gave them to him and his wife Eleanor for their lives, 1254.

But it is not wise to give one's enemy a torch to fire one's house with. Kenilworth was a dangerous gift to any but a most sure friend, and De Montfort, who had great knowledge of military science, began without delay to strengthen his new acquisition in every way, by repairs, by collecting munitions of war, by making formidable engines

* Mr. Best does not see that their rapacity had some limit, at least: this is rather to the credit of the poor vermin.



PORCH OF THE GATE TOWER (ABOUT 1571).

such as he had seen used in France, mangonels and perrières, of a size and kind strange to most Englishmen. He made Sir John Giffard, a man of proved valour, his commandant; who surprised Warwick Castle, and after dismantling it brought the Earl and his family prisoners to Kenilworth.

The battle of Lewes, 1264, and the escape of Prince Edward, are not matters of our local history:—The former event had seemed to ensure De Montfort's triumph; the latter was the beginning of his downfall. Too shrewd not to see his danger, he despatched his eldest son Simon, to bring reinforcements from the north; but the latter suffered severe loss in an engagement with the Prince in this village, and was obliged to throw himself and his men into the Castle.

The fatal battle of Evesham followed, Aug. 5, 1265. The younger Simon, not trusting to the clemency of enemies, who had mutilated his father's corpse, resolved to hold the Castle against all comers; but, as succour was necessary, he* stole away into France to seek it from his family, leaving Henry de Hastings his commandant.

Annoyed by the ravages of the garrison, the King marched this way, got the supplies for which he waited at Warwick, both men and materials; and invested the place, June 25, 1266, (v. note).

Desirous to avoid bloodshed, he offered pardon to the besieged; but having more faith in their walls than in his promises, they refused his offers with insult and even maimed his messenger.

The siege grew warm; with the engines which the great Earl had provided the garrison† did much mischief, and their sallies harrassed the besiegers constantly and hotly.

Yet anxious to quiet his exhausted realm at any cost, Henry held a council at Coventry, and published, 31 Oct. 1266, the famous Ban or Dietum de Kenilworth,‡ enabling those whose estates were confiscated to redeem them by fines, varying from two to seven years' value.

On this, special offers of mercy were sent both to those within the Castle, and to Simon and his friends then in the Isle of Ely. The answer was the same; the council was none of their choosing; the Dietum they could not suffer.

The King's patience was now exhausted; he resolved on storming the contumacious fortress; and impressed all masons and labourers within the Shire, men and tools, as pioneers for the assault.

* He fortified also and garrisoned the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire.

† Possibly "Linn" signalized himself at this time, and left his name to the tower which he commanded.

‡ A copy is in the Cottonian Library, and in Tyrrel's History of England, p. 1065.

Meanwhile, things went ill inside; though hearts were staunch, victual ran short; and disease was rife among them, produced by the closeness of their quarters; and lastly, no relief seemed near. When, therefore, the King, having some inkling of this, made a fresh offer of the same clemency, they agreed that they would send one beyond sea to Simon, and if in 40 days he come not to their help, they would render themselves to the King, who was meanwhile to feed them. Sickness however waits but ill; and ere their messenger could return, their last hope died within them, and they capitulated after a six months' resistance about December 21, 1266; "coming out so pale and meagre" that it could not be conceived how a garrison in so wretched a state could hold out so stoutly, or obtain terms so favourable.*



THE ATTACK AND DEFENCE OF A CASTLE.

The science of military engineering had as much attention paid to it towards the end of the 12th Century, as it has now; and new varieties of attack were continually calling for new devices in fortifications. The founder of Kenilworth Castle was indeed no mean engineer, as we see by his grand causeway and dams and the well-devised 'lift' in the Keep; but as the upper part of his building has perished we cannot quite tell by what means if any, he contrived to protect the base of his tower. The defence of his secondary portal is simple and rude, and he seems to have trusted, like most English Barons of his day, to the sheer strength of his walls.†

War of course breeds ingenuity in war, and before long the English became nearly as expert in attack and defence of walls as their neighbours were;‡ and were as much troubled with questions of war and schemes of assault, except that the excellence of their archers proved often a better cover for the assailants than any complicated machinery.

The 'horde,' hord, or hurdicium (really 'hurdle') was an early invention to restore the balance of power in favour of the besieged. The loop-hole and the embrasure gave him vantage enough at a distance, but without undue exposure, they were unable

* Some items of the King's purveyance have come down to us. The Sheriff of Norfolk had to fetch 36 tuns of wine from Leuns (the Lynns). The Canons of Kenilworth furnished 300 quarters of corn and many other things, that their goods might be spared. The Sheriff of this county, William Bagot, brought in 255 quarters of wheat, 52 oxen, 173 'muttons'. Tradition goes, that the King carried overland large boats and launched them on the pool, to assault the south and west sides, which were always less strong than the others; but the resistance at the Brays must have been stout, or he might have opened the sluices and drained the lake by digging near the Floodgate Tower.

† The Castles which were built in France, in the latter half of this Century, were far more scientific (Chateau "Gaillard" or "the Saucy" for example, built by Cœur de Lion, the great engineer of the age).

‡ The Crusade of Cœur de Lion must have helped towards this.

to save the base from being picked at by men close underneath the wall, and the bastion system was not yet perfected. So in exposed places, the engineer ran out from the walls beams, on which he raised a gallery faced with hurdles or planks and projecting over the moat or causeway; so instead of the mere loophole or embrasure he had a porthole, protected by a moveable falling shutter; and further, he had below him holes for pouring down pots of hot lime, iron bars, stones, beams, &c. “Entour ont bretesches levées Bien planchiées et quernelées.”

In turn, of course, the weapons of offence were improved to beat down this guard and smash the planking of the gallery or bretèche (or brattish); and Du Cange gives several extracts, in which walls are said to have been pierced and broken through with stone shot, sometimes of 2 cwt. At length such magnificent towers as we have at Warwick show the perfection of defence, the stone machicolations giving complete command of all below, and avoiding the weakness of the ‘horde.’

There are in Froissart many descriptions of sieges and assaults, but none on the whole will serve our purpose so well as the attack on the Castle of Front de Bœuf in ‘Ivanhoe;’ it runs nearly thus.

The Barbican was an exterior fortification, of no great height or strength, intended to protect the postern gate, divided from the rest of the Castle by the moat, so that it was easy to destroy the communications by withdrawing the temporary bridge. In the outwork was a sallyport, corresponding to the postern of the Castle, and the whole was surrounded by a strong palisade. The assailants brought forward their mantlets and pavises, and were covered by the archers who kept up a cloud of arrows. No points at which a defender could show the least part of his person escaped their cloth-yard shafts; every arrow had its individual aim; they flew by scores together against every embrasure and opening in the parapets, as well as at every window; two or three of the garrison were slain and several others wounded. The whizzing of shafts and of missiles on both sides was only interrupted by shouts when either side inflicted or sustained some notable loss. The Black Knight leads a body of men close under the outer barrier of the Barbican. They pull down the piles and palisades; they hew down the barriers with axes. The assailants win the barriers and press the besieged hard upon the outer walls; some plant ladders, some swarm like bees and endeavour to ascend upon the shoulders of each other; down go stones, beams, and trunks of trees upon their heads; and as fast as they bear the wounded to the rear, fresh men supply their places in the assault.

The ladders are thrown down and the assailants lie grovelling under them; but the Black Knight approaches the postern with his huge axe; though stones and beams are hailed down upon him, he regards them not. The gate crashes, it is splintered by his blows. His followers rush in and the outwork is won.

The defendants destroy the plank that leads to the Castle; and their enemies strengthen themselves in the Barbican; after a while they prepare a bridge or floating raft, and thrust forward its whole length into the moat, so as to form a slippery and precarious passage for two men.

The Knight crosses and begins to thunder upon the Castle Gate with his axe, protected in part from shot and stones by the ruins of the former drawbridge which the defendants had demolished in their retreat from the Barbican, leaving the counterpoise still attached to the upper part of the portal. His followers had no such shelter; two were instantly shot with crossbow bolts, and two more fell into the moat; the others retreated back into the Barbican.

On the Black Knight and Cedric, who is with him, a heavy piece of battlement is about to be launched, when the defence is paralysed by treachery; the besieged try a sally but are defeated, and the besiegers capture the Castle.

This is, on the whole, a fine sketch of a sudden informal assault, and needs only some notice of the more formidable engines of the 12th and 13th centuries to make it complete.

We have read that the besiegers had Mantlets (large moveable covers of wood) and pavises (great standard shields for two men).

The besieged had, in time of war, the hordes and bretâches mentioned above. (Front de Bœuf was *at peace* with his Norman neighbours, recollect.)

The besiegers had also the aries, or battering ram of old, mounted in a tower of light timber, protected on three sides by hurdles and hides, which was called *Sus*,* the Sow, (Troye or Truye, Seropha, in Latin, vinea).

The Catus or cat, again, brought earth to fill the moat up with; or sometimes in attacking a weak fort, 20 or 30 men would come up and hammer away with a heavy beam shod with iron. v. Froissart, Bk. 1. c. lx.

Well! we have seen the barriers† carried and the Barbican stormed.

Ordinarily, the next operation was to fill up the moat with trunks of trees, hurdles, earth, &c., then the old ‘sow’ was moved forward to grub up the earth, and the battering ram played on the wall, or a mine was dug.

* This was also, sometimes, fitted up with slinging engines as well, Froissart speaks of one that would hold 100 men; it was taken to pieces and conveyed in many waggons. Such engines had various names, according to their characters, ‘swallows,’ ‘donkeys,’ &c.

† With their gate like a swing-glass, v. the rough sketch in preface. They could sometimes be leaped over, as at Noyon.

Both sides had perrières,* mangonels, trebuchets, or trepjets, slinging-engines of all sizes down to the portable arblast, with its windlass and quarrell, besides the arms we are more familiar with.

Masons and labourers are impressed, with mallets, erowbars, pickaxes; the pavises protect them, but from the 'horde' hot lime and melted pitch are poured, and heavy stones crush them. The ram strikes the wall, but hurdles and woolpacks deaden its blows.

At last the breach is made in the wall of eneeinte, or in the parapet or horde; then the Sow lets fall a ladder or plank, on which the forlorn-hope elambers to the wall, and a hand to hand combat decides the day.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRINCIPAL CHANGES IN THE CASTLE.

1. The first Geoffrey Clinton made the great earthwork; the dam at Fern Hill; the watercourses; the keep with its court; one tower on the S. side of the inner court or bailey; and the palisade round this last; the barbiean, with the palisade and wooden watch-towers round the brays; all about 1136.

2. About 1150, one of his successors probably built (of stone) the Gateway Tower, by the S. E. corner of the Keep, and added on the great Northern Portal.

3. Another, about 1180, took up the new fashion of fortifications, and resolved to add both strength and space to the Castle; replaced the old palisade by a stone wall; dug the great double ditch to the north (changing the direction of the high level water-course); and began the large outer enceinte at the weakest point, by building Lunn's Tower; and then commenced Mortimer's Tower. The original Great Hall was now built.

4. In King John's time and the earlier years of Henry 3rd., this great change was completed; the Entrance Tower on the Warwick side was altered from wood to stone; the Water Tower was erected, and Mortimer's Tower was enlarged. The larger (or King's) Chapel was either built or improved. After 1240, the Queen's Chamber was prepared for the occasional residence of royalty: most of the outer wall was built, and the Barbican was destroyed, all but the S. face of it.

* See Viollet le Duc's Dictionnaire Raisonné for an excellent account, s.v. 'Engin,' which however does not solve all the difficulties of the subject. Read his articles, Siege, Hourd, Bretache.

5. About 1280-1320, very important and beautiful work was executed, but this has all nearly disappeared under the destructive hands of John of Gaunt and Leicester.

6. About 1392, John of Gaunt reformed the Kitchens, removed the old Hall, and enlarging the site of the Inner Bailey, built the whole of the western range, both Hall and Solar rooms. Then he turned south and remodelled the state-rooms, raising the noble Tower and beautiful Lobby. He also covered the Keep Court with an upper story.

7. In the 16th Century, Henry the 8th completed the Quadrangle with his new range of building on the old wall to the east of the Inner Bailey or Court.

8. About 1571, Leicester meddled with everything. Outside, he remodelled the Floodgate Tower and Tiltyard; and replaced the ancient barns and stables by a new range. Then, taking into his head that a new garden after the French fashion was needful for his full magnificence, he availed himself of the acre or so inside the north wall; but, to do this, he must change the north entrance, and put it further eastward, as otherwise the road would cross the middle of his Garden, which he meant to keep strictly private. So he turned the Tower into Aviaries, and broke through the Castle wall with his new Gate Tower.

Then he transformed the gloomy grand old Keep, put a flat roof on, broke through the thick walls for new windows, and taking a dislike to John of Gaunt's work in the Keep Court he remodelled it; and, caring just nothing for private chapels, he hollowed out the S. W. turret for a new staircase.

But this was not enough: the Queen was coming again: and he re-forms the whole of the southern range of state-rooms, opening out the old south wall with grand oriel windows; and clears the Quadrangle of the now disused King's Chapel.

Then down in the original (but long dry) moat of Geoffrey Clinton, he sets the foundation of his great and picturesque 'Buildings,' &c.

9. Enter Hawkesworth and fellows, with orders to destroy and dismantle, about 1650. He makes havock and wreak of North wall, Keep, Keep-Court, Great Northern Portal, Mortimer's Tower, Gaunt's Tower, Barbican on the Warwick road; everything in fact is rendered untenable. Then he pierces the dam, only *pierces* it (for Mr. Charles Draper is quite correct about this) with a culvert in order to drain the lake; and turning the Gateway Tower into a very pretty residence, he spoils Leicester's proud palace of its ornaments for his own comfort, which I trust was but seldom disturbed by archaeological conscience-pangs.

Hawkesworth filled up the great old fosse below the Keep with the ruins of Henry the 8th's buildings and the old Norman wall; they lie there buried now, and must be interesting, could we but get at them. Modern destroyers shall be noticed below.



GATE TOWER (1571).

CHAPTER XXVII.

REPAIRS.

The work of the last three or four years has been more or less wisely done. 1, To preserve the building from the ravages of time, ivy, and the public. 2, For the safety of visitors. 3, In excavation.

For the first object, the Keep has been imperfectly and not very well patched inside and out. The outer enceinte, and the south side of the inner wall have been in some measure looked to. Leicester's Building has been fairly secured for some time to come; and the Great Hall has received some very necessary, though not faultless, repairs.

The ivy has been ruthlessly but wisely sacrificed everywhere. Time will, in some degree, restore picturesqueness to the Castle, and bring back its old beauty; whereas, a very few more years of neglect would have irreparably ruined much that the archæologist prizes and will now prize for centuries.

The crude ugliness of certain inside wall-facings is wholly due to the public and their pranks, sober and tipsy.

2, For the safety of the public aforesaid, many of the upper courses of stone have been taken up and re-laid in cement; and the small trees that in a storm worked like crowbars to dislodge them, have been removed.

And 3, The curious recess near the pleasance; the Sallyport and domus-windows, the Cellars of Hall, Solar and State rooms, and the Keep-court, have been thoroughly cleared out; though the excavation has yielded but few discoveries of any value, beyond some fine fragments of carved stone.

In spite of mistakes, which will no doubt some day be rectified, the repairs recently done are, on the whole, conservative and right.

Old Ruins have many enemies; not to mention time and weather, careless agents and economical builders have made their mouldering walls a cheap quarry; hence you may see fragments of Kenilworth Priory and Castle miles away, in the road or in the farm-buildings. This evil however is now held pretty well in check, and the worst enemies we have now to guard against, are 1, the Ivy, 2, the Public, 3, the Restorer, all of which are the more dangerous because they have real claims on our respect.

But the Ivy is the crowbar of a giant; give it once fair rooting in a building and nothing is strong enough to resist it: it will lift and move bodily many tons weight from a wall, cracking large stones across, and opening masonry to the weather.

The Public are still worse;* every scramble along the walls, every careless stone-throwing, even a poke with an umbrella, or half-an-hour's use of a pocket knife; indeed everyone of the many and various delightful proclivities of the Public is mischievous.

But herein are the Public *most* mischievous, that they are the principal causes of Restoration; half the mistakes that have lately been made in the Castle, indeed almost all that grieves the eye by crudeness of colour, or gauntness of form, is rendered necessary by the multitude and the unscrupulous acts of our many visitors.

* The Ivy must, I fear, go; the Public must, I fear, come; and the Restorer after them. Within an hour after a curious fire-place was discovered, its hearth was mischievously broken up.



APPENDIX I.

LANEHAM'S LETTER.

I have printed the epistle at full length, because of its amusing style and its archæological value.

R. LANEHAM AND CAPTAIN COX.

Of Laneham and that important personage Captain Cox,* with their valuable catalogue of Romances and Ballads, Mr. Furnival† has written a capital essay; which by his great kindness I am allowed to present to my reader.

But, whereas he gives this as Forewords, I am compelled by the requirements of my printer to turn it into Afterwords‡; which will not please or profit less for the change of place.

* Hone oddly adds (Every Day Book, col. 477), "a person here indescribable without hindrance to most readers;" tastes must have changed.

† Such of my readers as love our Ballad Literature should get Mr. Furnival's "Ballads from MSS." with his preliminary essay.

‡ I have ventured to omit some few things in the reprinting, since Mr. Furnival's readers are different from mine.

ROBERT LANEHAM.

(FROM KENILWORTH ILLUSTRATED.)

It is to be regretted that we possess no further account of the lively and facetious writer of the following Letter than is incidentally contained in the letter itself; but his communicative disposition has furnished numerous hints respecting himself, from which we may clearly collect the following facts:—

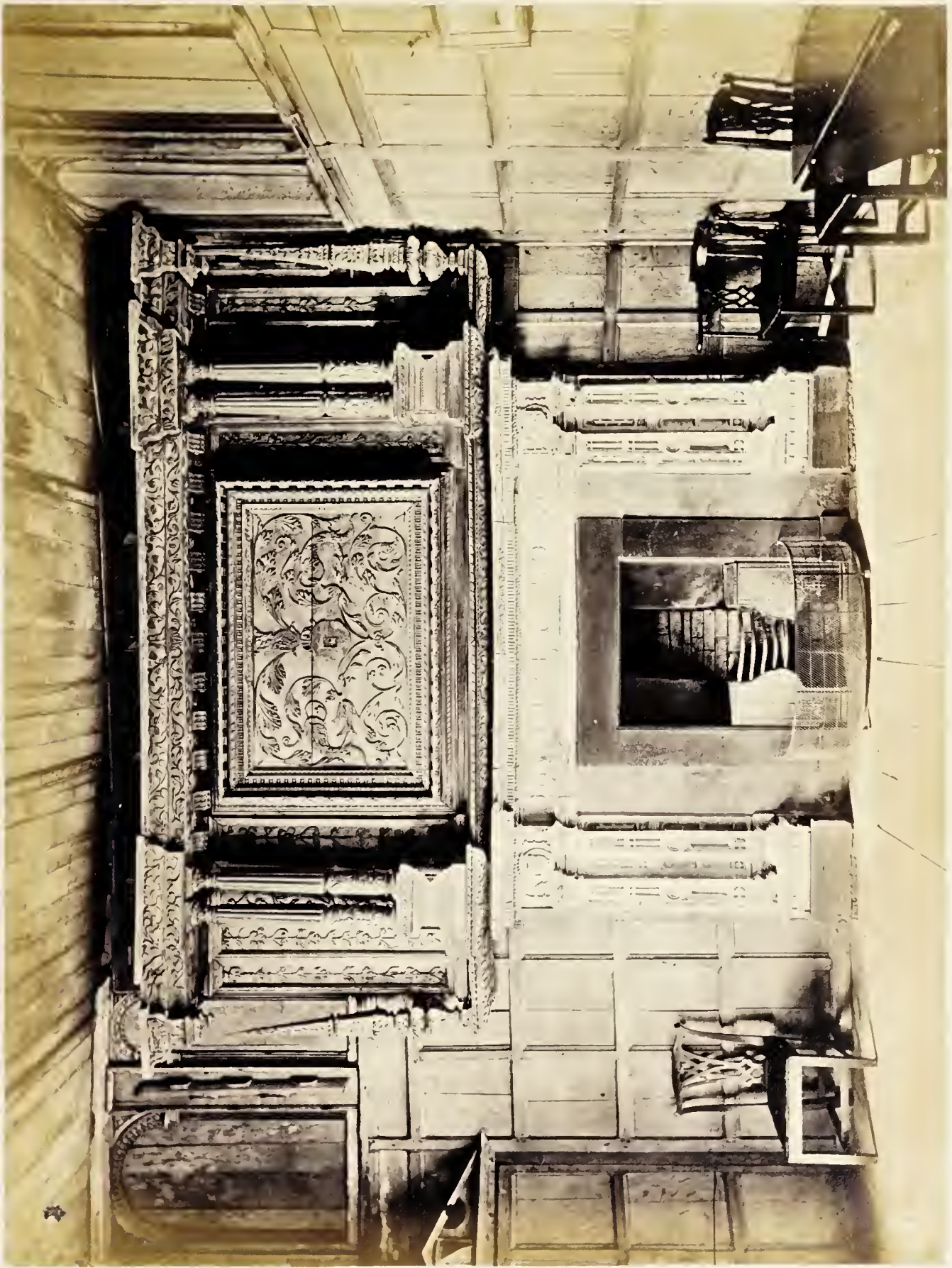
That he was a native of Nottinghamshire, and went to St. Paul's School, as also to "St. Antoniez," where he was in the fifth form, and read Esop, Terence, and Virgil.

It seems he was originally destined for trade, and that his master's name was Bomsted, a mereer in London, in which city he probably resided early in life, though born in the county of Nottingham. Here he evidently formed acquaintance with other respectable tradesmen besides his friend Humphrey Martin, mereer and merchant, to whom his printed letter is addressed, as he particularly commends himself to Master Alderman Pullison, to Master Thorogood, and to his merry companion Master Denman Mereer. As a merchant-adventurer he traded into "sundry countries," amongst which he particularly enumerates France and Flanders; but as he mentions Spanish as well as French and Dutch in the foreign languages he had acquired a knowledge of, it seems probable that he had visited Spain also. To these accomplishments he added dancing and music, playing (according to his own account) on the guitar, cittern, and virginals: he sang also, and appears to have been a gallant with the ladies, and a *bon vivant* with the men, loving sack and sugar, or else, according to his own confession, he should not "blush so mooch a dayz," "I am woont (says he) to be jolly & dry a mornings;" and in his remembrances to his London acquaintances, he names especially his "good old freend Master Smith, Customer, by that same token,——'Set my hors up too the rack, and then let's have a Cup of Sak.' He knoes y^e token well ynough, and will laugh, I hold ye a grote."

He mentions his love of reading, and, that his friend may not marvel to see him "so bookish," describes his education, adding, that when at leisure from the Councel, he reads various books; "storiez (says he) I delight in; the more auncient & rare, the more like-sum unto me." And the truth of this is abundantly shown in his letter.

Whether his "adventures" proved unsuccessful, or his mercurial disposition ill suited the regular habits of a merchant trader, is not apparent; but that one or other was the case may well be guessed: and it appears that sometime before the queen's visit to Kenilworth he became a protégé of the munificent and powerful earl of Leicester, by whose influence he was made "Clark of the Councel Chamber door, and also keeper of the same." Nor did his patron's kindness rest here; for Laneham very gratefully relates, that, besides this, the noble earl gave him apparel from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, and helped him in his *licence of beans*, whereby (although he does not much use it), his good father is well relieved by being permitted to serve the stable: and thus adds he, I now go in my silks, that else might ruffle in my ent-canvas; ride on horseback that else might manage on foot; am known to their honours, and taken forth with the best, that else might be bid to stand back.

How he carried himself in this office is thus described with much *naïveté* in his own words. When the Councel sit (says he) I am at hand; if any make a babbling, "peace," I say; if I take a listener or a prier in at the chinks or lock-hole, I am bye and bye at the bones of him; if a friend come, I make him sit down by me on a form or chest—let the rest walk a gods name.



THE FIREPLACE AND ROOM IN THE GATEWAY TOWER.

With the companionable qualities before described, it is not surprising that his society was sought after, and that he was admitted into the company of his superiors; accordingly we find that many afternoons and nights, during the stay of Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle, he was with Sir George Howard, and sometimes at Lady Sidney's chambers; but always amongst the gentlewomen, "by my good-will." To his old companions in London it seems he was known by the appellation of the *black prince*, and to evince his knowledge in Spanish, he concludes his description of himself at the close of his letter by the term, "El preneipe Negro."

Whether the present is the only instance of his authorship may perhaps be questioned, though the grounds are merely conjectural: but in D'Israeli's *Quarrels of Authors*, vol. iii. p. 271, et seq. is the copy of a very rare poetical tract, describing with considerable force the Revolutionists of Queen Elizabeth's reign, entitled, "Rythmes* against Martin Marre-Prelate," in which is the following stanza:—

And ye grave men, that answer *Martin's* mowes,
He mocks the more, and you in vain loose times,
Leave Apes to Doggs to baite, their skins to Crowes,
And let old LANAM lashe him with his rimes,
The beast is proud when men wey his enditings;
Let his workes goe the waie of all wast writings.

It seems not very improbable to conjecture, that amongst the various qualifications of our Laneham, a talent for versification was included, and his powers of satire and ridicule cannot be doubted, for these he possessed in a supereminent degree. No poet of the name of Laneham occurs in Ritson, or is noticed by any other writer.

Perhaps it may not be quite irrelevant to remark, that, in 1574†, Queen Elizabeth granted a licence to James Burbage, John Perkyn, *John Laneham*, and two others, "servaunts to the Earle of Leycester," to exhibit all kinds of stage-plays during pleasure in any part of England. And in a chronological series of the Queen's payments for plays acted before her, taken from the council-register, is the following item:—

15 Mareh 1589-90, to John Dutton and *John Laneham*, two of the Queen's players, for two interludes; showed before her, on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday last, 20 .. 0 .. 0.

The coincidence of a John Laneham being a player under the licence and protection of the earl of Leicester, in 1574 (and undoubtedly of eminence in his profession), is remarkable, and seems to point out the person as being a relative, or, at least, connected with the author of the descriptive letter: but materials are wanting to trace the particular nature of the connection.

The very interesting "Letter," a faithful reprint of which follows, is a small octavo, consisting of eighty-seven pages in black letter, and without date or printer's name. There are a few minute variations

* In Herbert's *Ames*, p. 1689, this tract is intitled "A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displayed."

† Sir Walter Scott does scant justice to Laneham in 'Kenilworth.'

‡ In *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. xi. p. 350, is a letter to the Earl of Leicester from his players (communicated by the Marquis of Bath), without date. They played at Lyme Regis in Oct., 1577. John Laneham's signature is affixed to the letter. He seems to have joined immediately after the privilege was granted, May 7, 1574, and to have been transferred to the Queen's Service on the Earl's death in 1588. In 1558 the Queen's players acted in the Parish Church of Lyme Regis!! *Robert's "Social History."*

in different copies of this work, which have led to an hasty conjecture that there were two editions; but it will be found that the variations consist only of verbal corrections made as the work passed through the press, and that in fact there is but one edition.



A LETTER:

Whearin, part of the entertain-
ment untoo the Queenz Maiesty,
at Killingwoorth Castl, in Warwik Sheer
in this Soomerz Progress 1575. iz
signified: from a freend officer
attendant in the Coourt, unto
hiz freend a Citizen
and Merehant
of London

DE REGINA NOSTRA ILLUSTRISSIMA

*Dum laniata ruāt vicina ah Regna tumultu,
Læta suos inter genialibus ILLA diebus,
(Grata Diis) fruitur: Rūpantur & ilia Codro.*

*Tho' by fiercest uprore torn
War each neighbour Realm destroy,
Heaven's dear favour doth maintain
Our great Queen without annoy
Mid her happy folk to reign;
Go caitiff enzy, go and hang forlorn.*



SOUTH FRONT OF THE ORIGINAL BARBICAN
(ABOUT 1130).

UNTOO MY GOOD FREEND, MASTER HUMFREY MARTIN MERCER

AFTER my hartie commendacionz, I commende mee hartily too yoo. Understande yee, that sins through God & good freends, I am placed at Coourt heer (as yee wot) in a woorshipfull* room: whearby, I am not onlie acquainted with the most, and well knoen too the best, and euery officer glad of my company: but also haue poour, adayz (while the Councell sits not) to go and too see things sight worthy, and too be prezent at any sheaw or spectacl, ony whear this Progresse reprezented unto her highness: And of part of which sportez, hauing takin sum notez and obseruationz (for I cannot bee idl at ony hand in the world) az well too put fro me suspition of sluggardy, az too pluk from yoo doout of ony my forgetfulnes of freendship: I haue thought it meet too impart them unto yoo, az frankly, az freendly, and az fully az I can: Well wot yee the blak Prins† waz neuer stained with disloyaltee of ingratitude towarde ony, I dar bee his warrant hee will not beginne with yoo that hath at hiz hand so deeply dezerued.

But heerin, the better for conceyuing of my minde and instruction of yoors, ye must gyue mee leaue a littl, az well to preface untoo my matter, az to discoors sumwhat of Killyngworth Castl. A Territory of the right honorable, my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Leyceter: of whooz incomparabl cheeryng and enterteynment thear untoo her Maiesty noow, I will shew yoo a part heer, that coold not see all, nor had I seen all coold well report the halff: Whear thynges, for the parsons, for the place, time, cost, deuisez, straungnes, and aboundauns of all that euer I sawe (and yet have I been, what under my Master Bomsted, and what on my oun affayres, whyle I occupied Merchaundize, both in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day) I saw none ony where so memorabl, I tell you plain.

The Castl hath name of Killingwoorth, but of truth grounded uppon feythfull storic Kenelwoorth. It stonds in Warwykshire, a lxxiiii myle northwest from London, and az it wear in the Nauell of Englande, foure myle sumwhat South from Couentree a proper Cittee, and a lyke distauns from Warwyk, a fayre Sheere Toun on the North: In ayr sweet and hollsum, raised on an eazy mounted hill, iz sette eeuenlie coasted with the froont straight intoo the East, hath the tenaunts and Tooun about it, that pleasantly shifts, from dale to Hyll sundry whear wyth sweet Springs bursting forth: and iz so plentifulle well sorted on euery side intoo arabl, meado, pasture, wood, water, & good ayrz az it appeerz to have need of nothing that may perteyn too living or pleazure. Too auantage hath it, hard on the West, still nourisht with many liuely Springs, a goodly Pool of rare beauty, bredth, length, deapth, and store of all kinde fresh water fish, delicat, great and fat, and also of wild fooul byside. By a rare situacion and natural amitee seemz this Pool conioyned to the Castlz that on the West layz the head az it wear upon the Castlz boosom, embraceth it on either side

Killingworth
Castl.

* Orig. Worwhipfull.

† See his Signature, El Principe Negro, at the end. Perhaps the sign of his shop.—J. H. Burn, 1821.

The
Bridge
was out
of repair
in 1603.

† Florileg
fo. 221 &
223.

Gul.
Halmesh
li. l.

South and North with both the armz, settlz it self az in a reach a flightshoot* brode, stretching foorth body and legs, a myle or too Westward: between a fayre Park on the one side, which by the Brayz† is linked too the castl on the South, sprinckled at y^e entrauns with a feaw Coonyez, that for colour and smallnes of number seem too be suffered more for pleasure then commoditee. And on y^e oother side, North and West, a goodlie Chase; wast, wyde, large, and full of red Deer and oother statelie gamez for hunting: beautified with manie delectabl fresh & umbragious Boowz, Arbez, Seatz, and walks, that with great art, cost, & diligens wear very pleazauntly appointed: which also the naturall grace by the tall and fresh fragrant treez & soil did so far foorth commēd az *Diana* herselfe might have deyned thear well enough too raunge for her pastime. The leaft arme of this pool Northward, had my Lorde adourned with a beautifull bracelet of a fayr tymbred bridge, that iz of xiiii. foot wide, and a six hundred foot long: railed all on both sidez, strongly planked for passage, reaching from the Chase too the Castl: that thus in the midst hath clear prospect ouer theez pleasurz on y^e back part; and forward, ouer all the Toun and mooch of the Countree beside. Heertoo, a speciall commoditee at hand of sundrie quarreiz of large building stone, the goodnes whearof may the eazlyar be iudged, in the bilding and auncienty of the Castl, that (az by the name & by storiez, well may be gathered) was first reared by *Kenulph* and his young sun and successor *Kenelm*: born both indeed within the Ream heer, but yet of the race of Saxons: and reigned kings of Marchlond fro the yeer of oour Lord. 798. too 23. yeerz toogether, aboue 770. yeer ago. Although the Castl hath one auncient strong and large Keep that iz called Cezarz Tour, rather (az I have good cauz to think) for that it iz square and hye foormed after the manner of Cezarz Fortz than that euer he bylt it. Nay noow I am a littl in, Master Martin ile tell you all.

This Marchlond, that Storyerz call *Mercia*, is numbred in their bookes, the foourth§ of the seauen Kingdomes that the Saxans had whilom heer diuided among them in the Ream. Began in *Anno Domini*. 616. 139. yeer after *Horsins*|| and *Engist*, continued in the race of a 17. kings. a. 249 yeer togyther: and ended in *Ann*. 875. Reyzed from the rest (sayz the book) at first by *Pendas** presumption: ouerthroun at last by *Buthreds* Hascardy,† and so fel to the kingdom of the West Saxons.

¶ Mercia.

And Marchlond‡ had in it, London, Mildesex, heerin a Bishoprik. Had more of Shyrez: Gloceter, Woorceter, and Warwik, and heer in a Bishoprik. Chester (that noow we call Chesshyre) Darby and Staffoord, wheruntoo one Bishop that had also part of Warwyk and Shrewsbery, and hiz See at Coventree, that waz then afore time at Lychfeeld. Heretoo: Hereford, wherin a Bishoprik that had more too iurisdiction, half Shreusbury, part of warwik and also of Gloceter, and the See at

* Flightshoot, probably a flying shot; e.g. from a mortar.

† Brayz. v. Chap. V.

‡ Florilegus or (!) Mathew of Westminster compiled the 'Flores Historiarum,' which Archbishop Parker edited in 1567, eight years before our learned Laneham got up his subject.

§ Robert Manning of Branne makes it the 6th.

The syxte was Merce, now ys Lyndeseye,
The hed toun ther to Lyncolne lay.

Stori of Inglande l. 14761-2. Vol. ii, p. 512, Ed. 1870. F.J.F.

|| Another copy has 'Horsus,' rectius Horsa.

* In the year 642 Penda king of Mercia invaded the dominions of Oswald, king of Northumberland; who was slain after a fierce battle at Maserfield. Burthred or Buthred was the last king of Mercia, whose kingdom was invaded in 874 by the West Saxons under Alfred. He fled to Rome where he died.

† Hascardy. Hask, harsh. Lincolnshire, Cumbd, &c. 'An haskerde, proletarius ignobilis' Levins. 'Haskerde, a rough fellow' Dekker. 'Vilane hastarddis' (for hascarddis) Percy's Reliques, p. 25. Halliwell.

‡ Compare this with the early 'Life of S. Kenelm,' 2—39, *Philol. Soc.*, 1858, (*Trans.*)

Hereford. Also had Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, Huntingdon, and halfe of Bedforde; and too theez, Norhampton, part of Lecyter and also Lincoln, whearunto a Bishop: whoz See at Lincoln Citee that sumtime before waz at Dorchester. Heertoo, the rest of Leyceter & in Nottingham, that of oldd had a speciall Bishop, whooz See waz at Leyceter, but after, put to the charge of the Arch-bishop of Yorke.

Noow touching the name, that of oldd Recordes I understand, and of auncient writers I finde, iz ealled KENELWORTH. Syns most of *Worths** in England stand ny untoo like lakez, and ar eyther small Ilandz, such one az the seat of this Castl hath been & eazly may bee, or is londground by pool or riuer whearon willoz, alderz, or such like doo gro: Which *Althamerus* writez precizely that the Germaines cal *Werd*: Ioyning these too together with the nighness allso of the woords and sybred† of the toongs; I am the bolder to pronooons, that az our English *Woorth*, with the rest of oour auncient langage, waz leaft us from the Germaines: eeuen so that their Werd and our *Woorth* iz all one thing in signifauns, common too us both een at this day. I take the case so cleer that I say not az mooch az I moought. Thus proface ye with the Preface. And noow to the matter.

Upon
Tacit.
fol. 142.
The
Ger-
maines
call werk
that we
call
woork.
They call
werlt
that we
call
woorld.
They
wermt
we
woorm-
wood
They
biel wert,
We
much
woorth

On Saterday the nyenth of July, at long Ichington, a Toun and Lordship of my Lords, within a seauen‡ myle of Killingworth, his honor made her Maiesty great cheer at Dinner, and pleazaunt pastime in hunting by the wey after, that it was eight a clock in the evening ear her highness came too Killingwoorth; Whear in the Park, about a flight shoot from the Brayz & first gate of the Castl, one of ye ten Sibills, that (wee reed) wear all *Fatidicæ* and *Thcobulæ*, (az partiez and priuy too the Gods gracious good wilz) cumly clad in a pall§ of white sylk, pronounced a proper poezi in English rime and meeter:¶ of effect hoow great gladnesse her goodnesse prezenze brought into euerie steed* whear it pleazed her too eum, and speciall now into that place that had so long longed after the same: ended with prophesie certain, of mooch and long prosperitee, health and felicitie: this her Maiestie beningly accepting, passed foorth untoo the next gate of the Brayz, which (for the length, largenes and use as well it may so serve) they call noow the Tyiltyard, whear a Porter, tall of person, big of lim & stearn of coountinauns, wrapt also all in silke, with a club & keiz of quātitee according: had a rough speech full of passions in meeter aptly made to the purpose: whearby (az her highnes was eum within his warde) hee burst out in great pang of impatiens to see such uncooth trudging too and fro, such riding in and out, with such dyn and noiz of talk within the charge of his offis: whearof he neuer saw the like nor had any warning afore, ne yet coold make too himselfe any cauze of the matter, at last upon better vieu and auisement, az hee precast to cum neerar, confessing anon that he found him self pearced at the prezens of a personage so euidently expressing an heroicall Soueraintee ouer all the whole estates, & hy degreez thear besyde, callnd hiz stoniz,† proclams open gates and free passage to all, yeelds up hiz club, hiz keyz, hiz office and all, and on hiz kneez humbly prayz pardon of hiz ignorauns and impaciens: which her highnes graciouslie graunting, he

Sibyl.

The
Porter.

* Worth—'homestead.' Then 'Kenilworth.' = 'The Court of Kenelm.' There are about 200 'worths' in England.

† Sybred—*kindred*. Saxon—cp. 'gos-sip'.

‡ Near to Marton.

§ Pall, a long and large upper mantle.

¶ These verses are given in Gascoigne's *Princeelye Pleasures*.

* Steed, stede, stead, or place—

Thei many a lifeles lad layed to the grounde,

That thei ne stirred of the stede strife for to make.—*Alisaunder of Macadoine*. 303.

† Stoniz—astonishment. Fr. *estonner*.

The
Trum-
petors.

Lady of
the Lake.

cauzd hiz Trumpetoorz that stood uppon the wall of the gate thear, too soound* up a tunc of welcum; which, besyde the nobl noyz, was so mooch the more pleazaunt too behold, becauz theez Trumpetoorz, beeing sixe in number, wear euery one an eight foot hye, in due proportion of parson besyde, all in long garments of sylk sutabl, cache with hiz syluery Trumpet of a fuec foot long, foormed Taper wyse, and straight from the upper part untoo the neather cend: whear the Diameter was a 16 ynchez ouer and yet so tempered by art, that being very eazy too the blast, they cast forth no greater noyz nor a more unpleazaunt soound for time and tunc, then any oother common Trumpet bee it neuer so artificially foormed. Theese armonious blasterz, from the foreside of the gate at her highnes entrauns whear they began: walking upon the wallz, untoo the inner: had this muzik mainteined from them very delectably while her highness all along this tiltyard rode unto the inner gate next the base coourt of the Castl: where the Lady of the Lake (famous in king Arthurz book) with too Nymphes waiting uppon her, arrayed all in sylks attending her highness comming: from the midst of the Pool, whear, upon a moouabl Iland, bright blazing with torches, she floting to land, met her Maiesty with a well penned meeter† and matter after this sort: first of the auncientee of the Castl, whoo had been ownerz of the same cen till this day, most allweyz in the hands of the Earls of Leyceter, hoow shee had kept this Lake sins king Arthurz dayz and now understanding of her highness hither cumming, thought it both office and dutie, in humbl wize to discouer her and her estate: offering up the same, her Lake and poour therein, with promise of repayre unto the Coourt. It pleazed her highness too thank this Lady, & to ad withall, we had thought indeed the Lake had been oours, and doo you call it yourz noow; Wel we will heerin common more with yoo hereafter.

This Pageaunt was clozd up with a delectable harmony of Hautboiz,‡ Shalmz,§ Cornets,|| and

* These six were but sham trumpeters.—See *Princely Pleasures*.

† This will be found in Gascoigne's account (*Princely Pleasures*) as delivered.—*Nichols*.

‡ A straight wooden wind instrument, with holes down the sides, and blown through a reed-mouthpiece at the top.

§ *Shalmz*. See Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 35, note *b*. "A very early drawing of the Shalm or Shawm, is in one of the illustrations to a copy of Froissart, in the Brit. Mus.—*Royal MS.S.* 186. Another in Comenius' *Visible World*, translated by Hoole, 1650, (he translates the Latin word *gingras*, shawn,) from which it is copied into Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, edited by Singer, vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1825. The modern clarionet is an improvement upon the shawm, which was played with a reed, like the wayte or hautboy, but being a bass instrument, with above the compass of an octave, had probably more the tone of a bassoon. It is used on occasions of state. "What *stately* music have you? You have shawms? Ralph plays a stately part, and he must needs have shawms."—*Knight of the Burning Pestle*.—Drayton speaks of it as shrill-toned: "E'en from the *shrillest shawm*, unto the cornamute."—*Polyolbion*, vol. iv. p. 376. I conceive the shrillness to have arisen from over-blowing, or else the following quotation will appear contradictory:—

"*A Shawme maketh a swete sounde, for he tynythe the basse,
It mountithe not to hye, but kepithe rule and space.
Yet yf it be blowne withe to rehent a wynde,
It makithe it to mysgovrne out of his kynde.*"

This is one of the "proverbis" that were written about the time of Henry VII., on the walls of the Manor House at Leckingfield, near Beverley, Yorkshire, anciently belonging to the Percys, Earls of Northumberland, but now destroyed.

There were many others relating to music and musical instruments (harp, lute, recorder, clavicorde, clarysymballis, virgynalls, clarion, organ, singing, and musical notation) and the inscribing them on the walls adds another to the numberless proofs of the estimation in which the art was held. A manuscript copy of them is preserved in Bib. 18, D. 11, Brit. Mus. Let me here acknowledge my many obligations to Mr. Furnival, and his reprint of Laneham.

That made "loude" minstrelsies
In cornmuse (bag-pipes) and eke in shawminies
And in many another pipe.—*Chaucer's House of Fame*.

|| Among Henry VIII's instruments were "Gitteron Pipes of ivory or wood, called *Cornets*." The Cornet described by Merseme (the French writer on musical instruments) is of a bent shape like the segment

such oother loovd musik, that held on while her Maiestie, pleazauntly so passed from thence toward the Castl gate: whearunto, from the baze Coourt ouer* a dry valley cast into a good foorm, waz thear framed a fayre Bridge of a twentie foot wide, and a seauenty foot long, graueld for treading, railed on either part with seavē posts on a side, that stood a twelue foot a sunder, thikned betweene with well proportioned Pillars turnd.

The
Bridge.Seauen
pair of
Posts.

Upon the first payr of posts were set, too cumly square wyre cagez, each a three foot long, too foot wide and hy: in them, live Bitters,† Curluz, Shooouelarz, Hearsheawz, Godwitz, and such like deinty Byrds, of the prezents of *Syluanus* the God of foul.

Syluan-
us. 1.
prezents.

On the second payr, too great Sylured Bollz, featly apted too the purpoze, filde with Applz, Pearz, Cherriz, Filberdz, Walnuts, fresh upon their braunchez, and with Oringes, Pougarnets,‡ Lemmanz, and Pipinz, all for the giftz of *Pomona*, Goddes of frutez.

Pomona
2.

The third pair of posts, in too such syluerd Bollz, had (all in earz, green and old) Wheat, Barly, Ootz, Beanz, and Peaz, as the gifts of *Ceres*.

Ceres. 3.

The fourth Post on the leaft hand, in a like syluered Boll, had Grapes in Clusters whyte and red, gracified with their Vine leauetz: the match post against it, had a payree of great whyte syluer lyuery Pots for wyne: and before them two glassez of good capacitie, filld full: the ton with whyte Wine, the two other with claret: so fresh of coolor, and of looke so louely smiling to the eyz of many, that by my feith mee thought by their leering, they could have foound in their hartz (az the eueuing was hot) to haue kist them sweetlie and thought it no sin: and theez for the potencial prezents of *Bacchus*, the God of wine.

Bacchus
4.

The fift payr had, each a fair large trey streawd a littl with fresh grass, and in them Coonger,§ Burt,|| Mullet, fresh Herring, Oisters, Samon, Creuis,* and such like from *Neptunus*, God of the Sea.

Neptu-
nus. 5.

On the sixth payr of Posts wear set two ragged stauetz,† of syluer, as my Lord giuez them in armz, beautifully glittering of armour thereupon depending, Bowz, Arrows, Spearz, Sheeld, Head of a large circle, gradually tapering from the bottom to the mouthpiece. The cornet was of loud sound, but in skilfull hands could be modulated so as to resemble the tones of the human voice.—*Chappell* i. 248, note *a*. See also p. 631.

* This is referred to elsewhere, as proving that the earlier Norman moat was still untouched eastward, except by Leicester's buildings; Hawkesworth partly filled it up, and part luckily still remains.

† Bitterns, curlews, shovellers, heronshaws, (or herons).

‡ Pomegranates.

§ *Conger* is nothing but a sea-eele, of a white, sweet, and fatty flesh: little Congers are taken in great plenty in the Severn, betwixt Gloucester and Tewkesbury, but the great ones keep onely in the salt seas which are whiter-flesht and more tender.—Dr. Bennet's ed. of Muffett's *Healths Improvement*, p. 149.

|| Fr. *Limaude*, f. A Burt or Bret fish.—*Cotgrave*. *Rhombi* Turbuts . . some call the Sea-Pheasant . . whilst they be young . . they are called Butts.—Muffett, p. 173, in *Babees Book*, p. 167, and see p. 231 *ib*.

* Crayfish, or Crab. See *Babees Book*, pp. 158, 159, 166, 174, 216, 231, 281.

† The Ragged Staff was the well-known badge of the house of the king-maker Warwick.—See *Political Religious and Love-Poems* (E. E. Text Soc. 1866) p. xii and 3.

An R. for *the Raged staf* that no man may askape;
from Scotlonde to Calles therof they stonde in awe;
he is a stafe of stedfastnes bothe erly and latte
To chastes siehe kaytifes as don against the lawe.

Also the passages there quoted from the Cotton Rolls, ii. 23, in Wright's *Political Songs*, Roll Series, vol. ii. p. 222:—

The Bere (Warwik) is bound that was so wild,
ffor he hath lost his *ragged staffe*.—See n. in ch. vii. from Sir P. Sydney.

Mars, 6. pees, Gorget, Corselets, Swords, Targets, and such like for *Mars* gift, the God of War. And the aptlyer (me thought) waz it that thooz ragged staues supported theez Martiall presents, as well becauz theez staues by their tines* seem naturallie meete for the bearing of armooour, as also that they chiefly in this place might take upon them principall protection of her highnes Parson, that so benignly pleased her to take herbour.

On the seaunth† Posts, the last and next too the Castl, wear thear pight,‡ too faer Bay braunchez of a fourfoot hy, adourned on all sides with Lutes, Viollz, Shallmz, Cornets, Flutes, Recorders,§ and Harpes, az the presents of *Phæbus* the God of Muzik for reioysing the mind, and also of Phizik, for health to the body.

Ouer the Castl gate was there fastened a Tabl beautifully garnisht abooue with her highness armes, and featlie with Iuy wreathz, boordréd aboout; of a ten foot square: the ground blak, whcar-upon in large white Capitall Roman fayr written: a Poem mencioning theez Gods and their giftes, thus prezednted untoo her highness: which, becauz it remained unremooved, at leyzure & please|| I took it oout, as foloeth.*

AD MAIESTATEM REGIAM

*Iupiter huc certos cernens TE tendere gressus,
Cœlicolas PRINCEPS actutum conuocat omnes:
Obssequium præstare iubet TIBI quemq' benignum.
Unde suas Sylvanus aucs, Pomonaq' fructus,
Alma Ceres fruges, hilarantia vina Liacus,
Neptunus Pisces, tela & tutantia Mauors,
Suauc melos Phæbus, solidam longamq' salutem.
Dij TIBI REGINA hæc (eū SIS DIGNISSIMA) præbēt:
Hæc TIBI cum Domino dedit et se verda Kenelmi*

Imperial Jove beheld thee hither bent;
Then on the instant called the Gods of Heav'n,
And bade each yield to thee observance kind;
Hence bringeth Sylvan Birds, Pomona Fruits,
Good Ceres Corn, and Bacchus cheering Wine;
From Neptune Fishes, Darts and Shields from Mars,
Then Music sweet, and sound and lasting Health
From Phoebus come. To thee as worthiest,
These give the Gods, O Queen, and Kenelm's Hall
Giveth thee here, herself, her Lord, and all!

Elizabeth's entertainer, Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Earl of Leicester, was the younger son of John Dudley, 19th Earl of Warwick, created Duke of Northumberland, 11th Oct. 1551, K.G. attainted and beheaded, 1553.—*Nicolas's Peerage*, p. 269, 678.

* *Tine*, short pricks of an antler, prongs of a fork.

† t. i. pair of posts.

‡ Pitched, placed: pret. of *picchen* to pitch, fix.

§ See "The Genteel Companion of the Recorder," by Humphrey Salter, 1683. Recorders and (English) Flutes are, to outward appearance the same, although Lord Bacon, in his *Natural History*, cent. iii. sec. 221, says the Recorder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below. The number of holes for the fingers is the same, and the scale, the compass, and the manner of playing the same. Salter describes the recorder from which the instrument derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, *i.e.* between the hole below the mouth, and the highest hole for the finger. He says, "Of the kinds of music, vocal has always had the preference in esteem and in consequence, the Recorder, as approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice, ought to have first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed." The Hautboy is considered now to approach most nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen "Old English Flutes" with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the hole being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverbs at Leckington (quoted *ante*. note § p. 76), the Recorder is described as "desiring" the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salter's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb half over the hole at the back, and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe.—*Chappell's Pop. Music*, 246, note a. *Milton's Paradise L. I.*

anon they move

In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders:

|| ! not *pleasure*, but *place*: 'time and place suiting.'

* We learn from Gascoigne (*Princeley Pleasures*), that these verses were written by M. Paten.—*Nichols*.

All the letterz that mention her Maiesty, which heer I put capitall, for reuerens and honor wear thear made in goldd. But the night well spent, for that theez versez by Torchlight, could not easily be read, by a Poet thearfore in a long cerulcoous* garment, with a side† and wide sleeuez Venecian* wize, drawen up to his elboz, his Dooblett sleeuez under that Crimzen, nothing but silke: a Bay garland on hiz head, and a skro† in his hand, making first an humble obeizaunz at her highness cummyng, and pointing untoo euerie prezent as he spake: the same wear pronounced. Pleazauntly thus viewing the giftes, az shee past, and hoow the posts might agree with the speech of the Poet, at y^e eend of y^e bridge & entree of the gate, waz her highness receiued with a fresh delicate armony of Flutz, in perfourmauns of *Phæbus* prezents.

So passing into the inner Coourt, her Maiesty (that neuer ridez but alone) thear set down from her Pallfree waz conueied up to chamber: when after, did follo so great a peal of gunz, and such lightning by fyr work a long space toogither; as *Iupiter* woold sheaw himself too bee no further behind with hiz welcum, then the rest of hiz Gods: and that woold he haue all the countrie to kno: for indeed the noiz and flame were heard and seene a twenty myle of. Thus much Master Martin (that I remember me) for the first daiz *Bien veuu*. Be yee not very, for I am skant in the midst of my matter.

On sunday: the forenoon occcied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation, frō woork, & in diuine seruiz & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excelent musik, of sundry swet

Sunday.

* Azure-blue or sky-colour, from the latin *ceruleus*. Anciently, blue dresses were worn by all servants. —See Strutt. *Burn*, p. 49.

† Side and wide sleeve, *side* or *syde*, in the North of England, and in Scotland, is used for *long*, when applied to the garment; and the word has the same signification in Anglo-Saxon and Islandic or Danish:—

“The Erle Jamiss with his Rowte hale
Thare gert stent thare Pavillownys,
And for the Hete tuk on *syd* Gwnys.” Wyntown’s Chronicle, vol. ii. 339.

As an adverb; his land gēlest wide and side. An Bispel. (12th Cy.)

The wide and long-pocketed sleeve, called by Heralds the *manche*, was much in fashion in the reign of Henry VI. Stowe in his Chronicles, p. 327, temp. Henry IV., says, “This time was used exceeding pride in garments, gownes with deepe and broade sleeves commonly called poke sleeves, the servants ware them as well as their masters, which might have been called receptacles of the devil, for what they stole, they hid in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the feete, and at least to the knees, full of cuts and jagges. Again in Fitzherbert’s “Book of Husbandrie,” is the following passage:—

“Theyr cotes be so *syde* that they be fayne to tucke them up when they ride, as women do theyr kyrtels when they go to the market.”

Of these Hoccleve, a master of that age, says:—

Nor had this land less need of brooms
To sweep the filth out of the street,
Sen *side-sleeves* of pennyless grooms
Will lick it up be’t dry or wet.

Camden’s *Remains*; Peck’s *Desiderata Curiosa*, xv. No. II. § 51.

* Cp. on the enormously wide Venetian breeches or hose, Stubbes’s *Anatomic* in Nares, and the eleventh song in Thomas Heywood’s Rape of Lucrece:—

The Spaniard loves his ancient slop,
The Lumbard his *Venetian*.

Percy MS. Loose Songs, p. 76.

The wide sleeve is spoken of by Peacham, says Fairholt (*Costume in England* p. 211, note), “the wide saucy sleeve that would be in every dish before their masters, with buttons as big as tablemen;” similar to the “men” now used for draughts. Peacham also tells us that “long stockings without gaiters, then was the Earl of Leicesters’ fashion, and theirs who had the handsomest leg.

† Scroll.

instruments and in dauncing* of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother worshipfull degrees, uttered with such lively agiltee & commendabl grace: az whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the mind, for my part indeed I could not discern: but exceedingly well was it (methought) in both.

At night late, az though *Iupiter* the last night, had forgot for biziness, or forborn for curtezy and quiet, part of hiz wellcoom untoo her highness appointed: noow entrins† at the fyrst intoo hiz purpoze moderately (az mortallz doo) with a warning peec or too, proceeding on with encres, at last the Altitonant displeaz me hiz mayn poour; with blaz of burning darts, flying too & fro, leamz‡ of starz coruscant, streamz and hail of frie sparkes, lightnings of wildfier a water and lond, flight and shoot of thunderboltz; al with such countinauns, terror and vehemencie; that the heauins thundred, the waters sooured, the earth shooke; and in such sort surly, az had we not bee assured of the fulmieant deitee waz all hot in amitee, and could not otherwise wnesse his welcomming untoo her highnesse; it woudd have made mee for my part, az hardy az I am, very veangeably afeard. This a doo lasted while the midnight waz past, that well waz mee soon after when I waz cougth§ in my Cabayn; And thiz for the secund day.

Munday
3.

The
hunting
of the
Hart of
fors.

Munday waz hot, and thearfore her highnesse kept in a till a fue a klok in the ceuening; what time it pleazzd her to ryde foorth into the Chase|| too hunt the Hart of fors;* which foound anon, and after sore chased, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hooundes, waz fain of fine fors, at last to take soil.† Thear to beholdd the swift fleeting of the Deer afore with the stately cariage of hiz head in hiz swimmyng, spred (for the quantitee) lyke the sail of a ship: the hoounds harroing after, az they had bin a number of skiphs‡ too the spoyle of a karuell;§ the ton no lesse eager in purchaz of his pray, then waz the other earnest in sauegard of hiz life: so as the earning|| of the hoounds in continuauns of their crie, y^e swiftnes of the Deer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horsez,

* Compare Stubbes on dancing on Sundays. "But other some spend the saboath day for the most part in frequenting of baudie stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they called a certaine kind of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakes: in pyping, *dauncing*, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like. . . *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1st ed. 1853, Collier's reprint, p. 130. See also his most amusing chapter on "The horrible vice of pestiferous dauncing, used in Ailgua," *ib.* p. 150-168: and his next chapter "Of Musick in Ailgua, and how it allureth to vanitie," p. 168-172.

† Entring.

‡ A. Sax. *lōma*, a ray of light, a beam, light, flame.—*Bosworth*.

Hēo is hefone liht, and eorde brihtnesse, loftes leom, and all hiscefte zimston. He is heaven's light and earth's brightness, beam of the firmament, gem of all creation.—*Homiletic Treatises*, Ed. Morris, 1867.

§ ? Coft, coffined, coffered, shut up as in a coffer.

|| There is a spot in the Chase called the Queen's Standing Ground.—Cp. Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, ch. 3.

* Fors, Fr. *force*, force, might, strength, power, abilitie, vigour.—*Cotgrave*.

† A term used in hunting, when a deer runs into the water.—See *Phillips; Burn*, p. 97.

‡ Lat. *scapha*, a boat; Fr. *esquif*, a Skiffe, or little boat.—*Cotgrave*.

§ At the lengthe, three shyppes were appoynted hym [Columbus] at the kinges charges: of the which one was a great caracte with deckes: and the other twoo were light marchaunte shyppes without deckes, whiche the Spaniardes call *Carauelas*.—Arber's reprint of *Peter Martyr's Decades*, bk. i. p. 65. Sp. *carabela*, a small ship, called a caruell.—*Minshew*. A Carvel, or Caravel, was a species of light round vessel, with a square stern, rigged and fitted out like a galley, and of about 140 tons burthen. Such ships were formerly much used by the Portuguese, and were esteemed the best sailers on the seas.—See *Phillips; Burn*, p. 97.

|| Baying, connected with Lat. *hurrare*, Welsh *hurrro*, Engl. *harr*, to snarl.—See Wedgwood's Dict. under *ire* and *irritate*. 'A hunting expression, used to signify the barking of beagles at their prey'.—See Bailey; *Burn*, p. 97.



LUNN'S TOWER (BEFORE 1200).

the blasting of hornz, the halloing & hewing* of the huntsmen,† with the excellēt Echoz between whilez from the woods and waters in valleiz resounding, mooued pastime delectabl in so hy a degree, az for ony parson to take pleazure by moost sensez at onez, in mine opiniō, thear can be none ony wey comparable to this; And speciall in this place, that of nature iz foormed so feet for the purpose in feith Master Martin if ye coold with a wish, I would ye had been at it: Wel the Hart waz kild, a goodly Deer, but so ceast not the game yet.

For aboout nien a clock, at the hither part of the Chase, whear torchlight attended; oout of the woods in her Maiestiez return, rooughly came thear foorth *Hombrc*‡ *Saluagio*, with an Oken plant pluct up by the roots in hiz hande, himself forgrone§ all in moss and Iuy; who, for parsonage, gesture, and utterauns beside coountenaunst|| the matter too very good liking, and had speech to effect: That continuing so long in theez wilde wastes, whearin oft had he fared both far and neer, yet hapt hee neuer to see so glorious an assemble afore: and noow cast intoo great grief of mind, for that neyther by himself coold he gess, nor knew whear else to bee taught, what they should be, or whoo bare estate. Reports sum had he hard of many straunge thinges, but brooyled thearby so mooch the more in desire of knoledge. Thus in great pangz bethought he, & cald he upon all his familiarz & companiōz; the Fawnz, the Satyres, the Nymphs, the Dryades, & the Hamadryades, but none making aunswear, whearby hiz care the more encreasing, in utter grief & extreem refuge calld he allowd at last after hiz old freend Echo, that he wist would hyde nothing frō him, but tel him all, if she wear heer. Heer (quoth Echo). Heer, Echo and art thou thear? (sayz he) Ah hoow mooch hast thou relieued my carefull spirits with thy curtezy onward. A my good Echo heer iz a marueilooouz prezenz of dignitee, what are they I pray thee, who iz Souerain, tell me I beseech thee, or elz hoow moought I kno? I kno (quoth shee). Knoest thou sayz hee: Mary that iz exceedingly well: why then, I dezire thee hartily to sho mee what Maiestie (for no mean degree iz it) haue wee heer: a King or a Queen? A Queen (quoth Echo). A Queen sayez hee? Pauzing and wisely viewing a while; noow full certeynlie seemez thy tale to be true. And proceeding by this maner of dialog with an earnest beholding her highnes a while, recounts he first hoow iustly that foormer reports agree with hiz present sight: toochuing the beautifull linaments of coountenauns, the cumly proportion of body, the prinsly grace of prezenz, y^e graciouz giftz of nature with the rare and

Th:
sauage
man.

Echo.

* Cf. our 'hue and cry.' Fr. *huer*, to hoot, shout, exclaime, cry out, make hue and cry.—*Cotgrave*. See also *Wedgwood*.

† Tourberville, in the "Noble Art of Venerie, or Hunting," 4to. Lond. 1611, has an entire chapter of "certaine observations and subtleties to be used by huntsmen in Hunting an Hart at force, and gives us the words of encouragement to the hounds as follows:—

Hyke a Talbot, Hyke a Bewmont, Hyke, Hyke, to him, to him!
There he goeth, that's he, that's he, to him, to him!
To him, boyes, counter, to him, to him!
Talbot, a Talbot, a Talbot!
Such is the cry,
"And such is th' harmonious din, the soldier dreams
The battle kindling, and the statesman grave
Forgets his weighty cares; each age, each sex,
In the wild transport joins!"—*Somerville: Nichols*.

‡ Bp. Percy mistakes his appellation of the third volume of his Old Ballads; it being the *hombre salvaggio* of Lancham.—*Nichols*, i, 436.

§ *For*, *before* . . the radical meaning is 'in part of' . . *For* in composition has the meaning of 'out, with-out,' . . to *forget* is to away get, to lose from memory . . In French we have *forjeter* to jet out.—*Wedgwood*, ii. 82. *Forgrown*, grown away, grown over.

|| Fr. *contenancer*, to . . grace, maintaine, give countenance vnto; also, to frame, or set the face handsomely; to give it a gracefull and constant garbe.—*Cotgrave*.

singular qualities of both body and mind in her Maiesty conioynd, and so apparant at ey. Then shortly rehearsing Saterdaiz acts; of Sibils salutation, of the Porters propositiō, of hiz Trumpetooours muzik, of the Lake ladies oration, of the seauen Gods seauen prezents: hee reporteth the incredibl ioy that all estatez in the land haue allweyz of her highnes, whear so euer it cums: eendeth with presage and prayer of perpetuall felicittee, and with humbl subiection of him and hiszen* & all that they may do. After this sort the matter went, with littl differens I gesse, sauing only in this point: that the thing which heer I report in unpolisht proez, waz thear pronounced in good meeter and matter, very wel indighted in rime. Echo finely framed most aptly by answerz thus to utter all.† And I shall tell yoo master Martin by the mass, of a mad aenture: az thiz Sauage for the more submissiō, brake hiz tree a sunder, kest the top from him, it had allmost light upon her highnes hors head; whearat he startld and the gentlman mooch dismayd. See the benignitee of the Prins, as the foot men lookt well too the hors, and hee of Generosittee soon callmd of himself, no hurt, no hurt: quoth her highnes. Which words I promis yoo wee wear all glad to heer, & took them too be the best part of the play.

Tuesday
4.

Tuesday, pleazaunt passing of the time with musik & daunsyng; sauing that toward night it liked her Maiesty too walk a foot into the Chase ouer the Bridge: whear it pleased her to stand, while upon the Pool oout of a Barge fine appoynted for the purpoze, too heer sundry kinds of very delectabl Muzik. Thus recreated & after sum wallk her highnes returned.

Wednes-
day 5.
The Mart
pardon-
ed.

Wednesday, her Maiesty rode intoo the chase a hunting again of the hart of fors. The Deer after hiz property, for refuge took the soyl: but so mastered by hote pursuit on al parts, that he was taken quik in the pool: the watermē held him up hard by the hed, while at her highnes commaundemēt, he lost hiz earz for a raundsum, and so had pardon of lyfe.

Thurs-
day 6.

Thursday, the fourteenth of this July, and the syxth day of her Maiestyez cumming; a great sort of bādogs‡ whear thear tyed in the utter Coourt, and thyrteen bearz§ in the inner. Whoosoeuer made the pannell, thear wear inoow for a Queast & one for challenge & need wear. A wight of

* His'n, *gen. plur. of his.*

† The speech of the Savage man in verse, as delivered, and his dialogue with Echo, is preserved by Gascoigne (in his *Princelye Pleasures*).—*Nichols*. i. 437. Miss Strickland says, "Gascoigne, who was the unlucky perpetrator of this maladroït feat, takes care not to record it."

‡ Bewick describes the Ban-dog as being a variety of the mastiff, but lighter, smaller, and more vigilant; although at the same time not so powerful. The nose is also less and possesses somewhat of the hound's scent; the hair is rough and of a yellowish-grey colour, marked with shades of black. The bite of a ban-dog is keen, and considered dangerous; and its attack is usually made upon the flank. Dogs of this kind are now rarely to be met with.—*Burns*, p. 98. "The time when scritch-owls cry, and ban-dogs howl."—2. *Henry VII.* Mastiffs (ban-dogs) . . protect (them) from the wolf; but a collar beset with sharp prickles (caltraps) defendeth them.

Gate of Languages Unlocked, 1659. Were they called band-dog because 'bound to the bar'!

§ Bear-baitings were at this time not only considered as suitable exhibitions before the Queen and her nobles, but the amusement was under the particular patronage of her Majesty. An Order of Privy Council, in July, 1591, prohibits the exhibition of Plays on Thursdays, because on Thursdays bear-baiting, and such like pastimes, had been usually practiced; and an injunction to the same effect was sent to the Lord Mayor, wherein it is stated, that "in divers places the players do use to recite their plays to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting, and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure."—When confined at Hatfield House, Elizabeth and her sister Mary were recreated with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, "with which their highnesses were right-well content." (Wharton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, sect. iii. p. 85). The French Ambassadors were, soon after her ascension of the throne, entertained with bear and bull-baitings, and she stood to see the exhibition till six in the evening. A similar exhibition took place the next day at Paris-garden for the same party. The Danish Ambassador, twenty-seven years afterwards, was entertained by a like spectacle at Greenwich. The bear-gardens on the Bankside are too well known to be noticed here, further than to mention that Crowley, a poet in the time of Henry VIII. describes them as then existing, that they exhibited on Sundays, and the price of admission to Paris-garden was one-halfpenny.—*Nichols*, i. 438.

great wizdoom and grauitee seemed their forman to be, had it cum to a Jury: but it fell oout that they wear cauzd too appeer thear upon no such matter, but onlie too aunsweare too an auncient quarrell between them and the bandogs, in a cause of controuersy that hath long depended, been obstinatly full often debated with sharp and byting arguments a both sydes, and could neuer be decided: grown noow too so marueyloous a mallys, that with spitefull obrayds and uncharitabl chaffings alweiz they freat, az far az any whear the ton can heer, see, or smell the toother: and indeed at utter deadly fohod.* Many a maymd member, (God wot) bloody face, & a torn cote, hath the quarrell cost betweene them, so far likely the lesse yet noow too be appeazd, az thear wants not partakerz too bak them a both sidez. Well syr, the Bearz wear brought foorth intoo the Coourt, the Dogs set too them, too argu the points ecuen face to face, they had learnd coounsell allso a both parts: what may they be coounted parciall that are retaind but a to syde? I ween no. Very feers both ton and toother & eager in argument, if the dog in pleadyng woold pluk the bear by the throte, the bear with trauers woould claw him again by the skalp, confess & a list,† but a voyd a coold not that waz bound too the bar: and hiz coounsell tolld him that it coold bee too him no pollecy in pleading.

Thearfore thus with fending & proouing, with plucking & tugging, skratting‡ & byting, by plain tooth & nayll a to side & toother, such exspēs of blood & leather waz thear betweene them, az a moonths licking, I ween wyl not recoouer; and yet remain az far out az euer they wear.

It waz a sport very pleazaunt of theez beastz; to see the bear with hiz pink§ nyez leering after hiz enmiez approach, the nimblness & wayt of y^e dog too take hiz auauntage, and the fors & experiens of the bear agayn to auoyd the assaults: if he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woold pynch in an oother to get free: that if he wear taken onez, then what shyft with byting, with clawy-ing, with roring tossing & tumbling he woold woork too wynde hym self from them: and when he waz lose, to shake his earz twyse or thryse wyth the blud & the slauer aboout his fiznamy, was a matter of a goodly releef.

* Foehood.

† If he would.

‡ *Scrat* to scratch.—*Brockett's Gloss*. Now vulgar.

§ Pinken *eyes*. There is a singular coincidence between Laneham's description of a Lear-fight, and that given in the Romance "of Kenilworth," where the Earl of Sussex presents a petition from Orson Pinnit, keeper of the Royal Bears, against Shakespeare and the players. It is evident that the author of "Kenilworth" had the passage in his mind; and as the reader may also like to compare the two passages, an extract from the Romance is here inserted: "There you may see the bear lying at guard with his red pinky eyes, watching the onset of the mastiff like a wily captain, who maintains his defence, that an assailant may be tempted to venture within his danger."—See *Kenilworth*, vol. ii. p. 129; *Burn*, p. 98.

|| So evidently thought also all the nobles of Elizabeth's court, whose 'moral grace Mr. Froude holds has departed, and is not with us Victorians. *Short Studies on great Subjects* quoted in the Forewords to my *Queen Elizabeth's Academy*. (E. F. Text Soc. 1869). Set beside the moral grace that delighted in bear-baiting, the opinion of the old puritan Stubbes in 1583, whom the gracious nobles would have no doubt called a coarse and vulgar brute: is not the baiting of a bear besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous and perilous exercyse! wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an howre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet for any Christian? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to-rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are . . . And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre assotted that they will not stick to keep a dozen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with "feight dog," "feight beare," (say they), "the devill part all!" And to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastime, forsooth! worthie of commendation! and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation!"—*Anatomic of Abuses*, ed. 1583, Collier's reprint, p. 177-8.

Gunshot
& fyre-
work.

Az this sport waz had a day time in the Castl, so waz thear abrode at night very straunge and sundry kindez of fier* works, compeld by cunning too fly too and fro and too mount very hy intoo the ayrt upward and allso too burn unquenshabl in the water beneath; contrary ye wot, too fyerc kinde. This intermingled with a great peal of guns; which all gaue, both too the ear and to the ey the greater grace and delight, for that with such order and art they wear tempered, tooouching† time and continuauns, that waz about too houres space.

Tumb-
ling of
the
Italian.

Noow within allso, in the mean time waz thear sheaved before her highnes, by an Italian, such feats of agilitiee, in goinges, turninges, tumblings, castinges, hops, iumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambaud,§ soomersauts, caprettiez|| and flights: forward, backward, syde wize, a doownward, upward, and with sundry windings, gyrings* and circumflexions; allso lightly and with such easiness, az by mee in feaw words it iz not expressibl by pen or speech, I tell yoo plain. I bleast me by my faith to behold him, and began to doout whither a waz a man or a spirite, and I ween had doouted mee till this day, had it not been that anon I bethought me of men that can reazon & talk with too toongs, and with too parsons at onez, sing like burds, curteiz of behauour, of body strong and in ioynts so nymbl withall, that their bonez seem az lythie and plynant az syneuz. They dwel in a happy Iland (az the booke termz it), four moonths sayling Southward beyond Ethiop.†

Diodor.
Sicul.
De antiq.

Nay Master Martin, I tell you no iest; for both *Diodorus Siculus* an auncient Greeke historio-grapher in his third book of the acts of the old† Egypcians; and also from him, *Conrad Gesnerus*§ a

* See *Nichols*, vol. i. p. 319, under the year 1572, when Fireworks were introduced for the Queen's amusement at Warwick.—N.

† *Orig.* ayz.

‡ Coouching.

§ *Gambade*, a gamboll, yew-game, tumbling trick. *Gambader*, to turne heeles ouer head, make many gambols, fetch many friskes, shew many tumbling tricks.—*Cotgrave*.

|| *Caprist*, a caper in dauncing.—*Cotgrave*. Sp. *capriola*, a caper or lofty tricke in dauncing.—*Minshen*.

* L. *gyrus*, a circle, circuit.

† See *Mandeville* (from *Pliny*) on *Ethiophe*, p. 157, ed. 1839. There, are the folk that han but o foote: and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle: and the foot is so large, that it schadewethe alle the Body azen the Soone, whanne thei wule lye and reste hem.

‡ The reference made in the text to the third book of this author is erroneous; the passage alluded to, being in the fourth chapter of the second book, the which, as it tends more perfectly to illustrate *Laneham's* remarks, is here extracted from *Booth's* translation of *Diodorus Siculus*, page 82. "The inhabitants are much unlike to us in this part of the world, both as to their bodies and their way of living; but among themselves, they are for form and shape like one to another, and in stature about four cubits high (six feet). They can bend and turn their bodies like unto nerves; and as the nervous parts, after motion ended, return to their former position, so do their bones. Their bodies are very tender, but their nerves far stronger than ours, for whatever they grasp in their hands, none are able to wrest out of their fingers. They have not the least hair on any part of their bodies, but upon their heads, eyebrows, eyelids, and chins; all other parts are so smooth, that not the least down appears anywhere. They are very comely and well shaped, but the holes of their ears are much wider than ours, and have something like little tongues growing out of them. Their tongues have something in them singular and remarkable, the effect both of nature and art; for they have partly a double tongue, naturally a little divided, but cut further inwards by art, so that it forms two, as far as to the very root, and therefore there is great variety of speech among them, and they not only imitate man's voice in articulate speaking, but the various chatterings of birds, and even all sorts of notes, as they please; and that which is more wonderful than all, is, that they can speak perfectly to two men at once, both in answering to what is said, and aptly carrying on a continued discourse relating to subject-matter in hand; so that with one part of their tongue they speak to one, and with the other part to the other." *Diodorus*, surnamed *Siculus*, because he was born at *Argyra* in *Sicily*, flourished about 44 years before the Christian æra.—*Burn*, p. 98-9.

§ An eminent Physician, Naturalist, and Scholar of the 16th century, who was born at *Zurich* in 1516. He was made Professor of Greek at *Lausanne*, and at *Basil* he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After having published many valuable works in Botany, Medicine, Natural History, and Philology, he died of the plague in the year 1565, aged forty-nine. His "*Mithridates*," mentioned in the text, is a work on the difference of tongues throughout the world.—*Burn*, p. 99.

great learned man, and a very diligent writer in all good arguments of oour time (but deceased), in the first Chapter of hiz *Mithridates* reporteth the same. Az for thiz fellow I cannot tell what too make of him, saue that I may gesse hiz bak be metalld* like a Lamprey† that haz no bone but a lyne like to a Lute string.

Egypti-
orum
gestis.
lib. 3.

Well syr let him passe and hiz featz, and this dayz pastime withall, for heer iz az mooch az I can remember mee for Thursdaiz entertainment.

Friday and Saturday wear thear no open sheawz abrode, becauz the weather enclynde too sum moyster & wynde; that very seasonably temperd the drought and the heat, cauzed by the continuans of fayr weather & sunshyne afore, all the whyle syns her Majestiez thither cumming.

Friday.
Sater-
day. 8.

A Sunday opportunely the weather brake up again, and after diuine seruys in the parish church for the sabot day, and a frutefull Sermon thear in the forenoon: at after noon, in woorship of this kenelwoorth Castl, and of God & saint kenelm,‡ whooz day§ forsooth by the calendar, this waz: a solem brydeale|| of a proper coopl waz appointed; set in order in y^e tyltyard, too cum and make thear sheaw before the Castl in the great coourt, whear az waz pight a cumly quintine* for featz at armz, which when they had don, too march oout, at the northgate of the Castl homeward againe intoo the tooun.

Sunday.
9.

Eulph 17th

A Bride-
ale.

* Metalld? mettled, lively, sprightly.

† See Dr. Christ. Bennet's ed. of Muffet's *Healths Improvement*, 1655, p. 182, in which we find, of Lamprey's, and Lamprous, *Lamprætæ, Murænæ*, that "they are best (if ever good) in March and April; for then they are so fat, that they have, in a manner, *no back-bone at all*: towards Summer they wax harder, and then they have a manifest bone, but their flesh consumed."

‡ See his Life in *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, 1862, p. 47-57. He was king of the March of Wales [see above, p. 74, note] and Warwickshire was one of his counties.

§ His day is given July 17th, in the Primer of 1536. Butler gives it to December 13th. There seems no reason to argue with Miss Strickland, that the people cared much for the Saints-day; for the Queen was here.

|| As the account of this rustic bride-ale has a considerable share of the ludicrous mixed up with it, the following description of the procession of a bride of middle rank, from the "History of Jack of Newbury," may not be unacceptable: "The bride, being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with abillement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of ail colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others of garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church." Out of the bride-cup, above described, it was customary for all the persons present, to-gether with the new-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous reference to this in the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruchio, the latter of whom

Quaffed off the muscadel,

And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.

The custom, indeed, was universal, from the Prince to the Peasant; and at the marriage of the Elector Palatine to the daughter of James I. in 1613, we are informed by an eye witness there was "in conclusion, a joy pronounced by the King and Queen, and seconded with the congratulations of Lords there present, which crowned with draughts of Ippocras out of a great golden bowl, as an health to the prosperity of the marriage (began by the Prince Palatine and answered by the Princess). After which were served up by six or seven Barons as many bowles filled with wafers, so much of that work was consummate."—*Nichols*, i. 441.

* See Brand ii. 102-3, and i. 212 (ed. 1841), referring to many authorities, and quoting Aubrey, Hasted, etc., and Blount, whose *Glossographia* (5th ed. 1681, two years after his death) says "*Quintain*, a game or sport still in request at Marriages, in some parts of this Nation, specially in Shropshire, the manner now corruptly [as is clear from Laneham's account] thus: A *Quintin*, Buttress, or thick plank of wood is set fast in the ground of the highway where the Bride and Bridegroom are to pass; and Poles are provided, with which the young men run a Tilt on Horse-back; and he that breakes most Poles and shews most activity, wins the Garland. But Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, p. 76, says, That in anno 1253, the youthfull Citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the *Quintin*; and whosoever did best, should have a Peacock for prize, etc." Fr. *Quintaine*: f. A Quintan (or Whintane) for countrey youthes to runne at.—*Cotgrave*, A.D. 1611.

And thus were they marshalld. Fyrst, all the lustie lads and bolld bachelorz of the parish, sutable euery wight with hiz blu buckeram bridelace* upon a branch of green broom (cauz roze-mary† iz skant thear) tyed on hiz leaft arme (for a that syde leyz the heart), and hiz allder poll for a spear in his right hand, in marciall order raunged on a fore, too & too in a rank: sum with a hat, sum in a cap, sum a cote sum a ierken, sum for lightnes in hiz dooblet & hiz hoze, clean trust with a point afore: sum botes & no spurz, he spurz and no boots, and he neyther nother: one a sadel, anoother a pad or a pannell fastened with a cord, for gyrts wear geazon:‡ and theez too the number of a sixteen wight, riding men and well beseen:§ but the bridegroom foremost, in hiz fatherz tawny worsted iacket, (for his freends wear fayn that he shoold be a brydegroom before the Queen), a fayr strawn|| hat with a capitall crooun steep wyze on hiz hed: a payr of haruest glouez on hiz hands, az a sign of good husbandry: a pen & inkhorn at his bak; for he woold be knowen to be bookish: lame of a leg that in his yooth was broken at football:* wellbeloued yet of hiz mother that lent him a nu mufflar for a napkin that was tyed too hiz gyrdl for lozying:† It waz no small sport too marke this miniō in hiz full apointment, that through good scoolation becam az formall in hiz action az had he been a bridegroom indeed; with this speciall grace by the wey, that euer az he woold haue framed him the better countenauns, with the woors face he lookt.

* Blue bride-laces were worn at weddings, and given to the guests in the 16th and 17th Centuries.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 520. See examples in *Brand*, ii. 81, ed. 1841, from Ben Jonson, *Herrick*, etc.

† See *Brand*, ii. 74 on 'Rosemary and Bays at Weddings.'

‡ *Geason*, scarce: 'scant and geason.'—Harrison's *England*, p. 236, in *Halliwel's Gloss*. Or *geason*, an ancient word signifying rare or scarce.—See Philips.

"And if we speake of Astronomy,
They will say it is a great lye,
For they can no other reason;
But all that knoweth good and better,
As gentleman that loveth swete and swetter,
Wisdom with them is not *geason*." &c.
Shepherd's *Kalendar*, sign A. 56.

§ Clad. *ib*.

|| Straw-en, made of straw.

* See Stubbe's most amusing account of this Sunday-game, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 184 of Collier's reprint of the 1st ed. 1583: "as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kind of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practice, than a felowly sport or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him and to picke [=pitch] him on his nose, though it be uppon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? So that by this means sometimes their backs, *sometime their legs*, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore wounded, craised, and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaille, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixte two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbows, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pitch him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another; and that upon prepensed malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would another to doo to us? God makes us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!

† Against, to prevent, losing.

Well syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns,* according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion,† and the fool. Then, three prety puzels,‡ az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie§ yeere old apees, that carried three speciall spisecakes|| of a bushell of wheat, (they had it by meazure oout of my Lord's backhouse,*) before the Bryde: Syzely with set countenauns, and lips so demurely simpring, az it had been a Mare cropping of a thistle. After theez a loouely loobert woorts, freklfaced, redheaded, cleen trust in his dooblet & hiz hoze, taken up now in deed by commission, for that hee waz so loth to cum forward, for reuerens belike of hiz nu cut canuas‡ dooblet; & woold by hiz good will haue been but a gazer, but found too bee a meet actor for hiz offis: that waz to beare the bridecup, foormed of a sweet sucket§ barrell, a faire turned foot set too it, all seemly be sylured and parecell|| gilt, adourned with a beautiful braunch of broom, gayly begilded for rosemary: from which, too brode brydelaces of red and yelloo buckeram begilded, and galauntly streaming by such wind az thear waz, (for hee carried it aloft:) This gentl cupbearer, yet had hiz freckld fizenemy sumwhat unhappily infested az hee went, by the byzy flyez, that floet about the bridecup for the sweetness of the sucket that it sauored on: but hee like a tall fello, withstood their mallis stoutly (see what manhood may do) bet them away, kild them by scores, stood to hiz charge and marched on in good order.

Then folloed the worshipfull Bride, led (after the euntric maner) between two auncient parishionerz, honest toounsmen. But a stale stallion* and a wel spred, (hot az the weather was) God wot, and an il smelling waz she; a thirtie yeer old, of colour brounbay, not very beautifull indeed, but ugly, fooul and ill fauord; yet marueyloous fain of the offis, because shee hard say she shoold dauns before the Queen, in which feat shee thought shee woold foote it az finely az the best: Well, after

* See 'Morris Dancing' in Brand, i. 142-155, ed. 1841.—Blount's *Glossographia*, there quoted, gives only six performers, as against Laneham's eight: "*Morisca*" (Spain) a Moor; also a Dance so called, wherein there were usually five Men, and a Boy dressed vp in a Girls habit, whom they called the *Maid Marrion* . . . Common people call it a *Morris Dance*." Brand's quotation, i. 149, from *Cobbe's Prophecies*, 1644, says that

. . . chefest of them all, the Foole
Plaied with a ladle and a toole.

† See Hone. Table Book vol. 1. col. 799, &c.

‡ Puzels—*damsels*. Fr. pucelle. Italian pulcella; 'Pucelle or Puzzel, dolphin or dogfish.'—*Henry VI*.

§ Nicholas's copy reads 'a thirtie-five yeer old.'

|| See Brand on Bride-cake, ii. 62-4.

* Bakehouse.

† Fr. *Baligant*: m. An unwelky lubber, great lobcocke, huge luske, mis-shapen lowt, ill-favoured flabegullion.—*Cotgrave*. (*Loobber woort*) a dull, heavy, and useless fellow. The word is probably derived from the Danish *lubben*, gross, or fat, and *worte*, a wart or wen.—See Wolf. Shakespeare uses the latter word somewhat in this sense, when he makes Prince Henry say to Falstaff, "I do allow this *wen* to be as familiar with me as my dog."—*Burn*, p. 100.

‡ Cp. "I go noow in my silks, that else might ruffe in my *cut canues*,"—poor man's clothes.

§ *Suckets*, dried sweet-meats or sugar-plums; that which is sucked.—*Nares*: see the quotations there, and cp. Fr. *dragée* any jonkets, confets, or sweet-meats, served in as the last course (or otherwise) for stomake-closers.—*Cotgrave*. I found two pots of very good succades or sweetmeats.—*Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Routledge, 8vo. 1853, p. 213.

|| Partly.—*Burn*. Still in use.

* *Stallion*, a term of reproof, applied to a woman in the Life of Long Meg of Westminster, 1635. The term can hardly have *Cotgrave's* first meaning for *Estaten*, 'a Stallion for Mares,' even metaphorically: it must rather have his second meaning 'a stall (as a Larke, etc.) wherewith Fowlers train silly birds unto their destruction.'

this bride cam thear by too and too, a dozen damzels for bridemaides: that for fauor, attyre, for facion and cleanlines; were az meet for such a bride az a treen* ladl for a porige pot; mo, but for fear of carring all clean had been appointed: but theez feaw wear inoow.

Az the cumpany in this order wear cum into y^e coourt, maruelous wear the marciall acts that wear doon thear that day.

Running
at Quinte.

The Brydegroome for preeminens had the fyrst coors at the Quintyne, brake hiz spear *tres-hardiment*: but his mare in hiz manage did a little so titubate,† that mooch adoo had hiz manhood to sit in his sadl, & tooscape the foyl of a fall: with the help of his hand yet hee recoouerd himself, and lost not hiz styrops (for he had none too hiz saddl); had no hurt az it hapt, but only that his gyrt burst, and lost hiz pen & inkhorn that he waz ready to wep for. But hiz handkercher, az good hap waz, found he safe at his gyrdl: that cheerd him sumwhat, & had good regard it should not be fyeld. For though heat & coolnes upon sundry occasions made him sumtime too sweat, and sumtime rumatik: yet durst he be bollder too blo hiz noze & wype hiz face with the flapet‡ of his fatherz iaket, then with hiz mothers mufflar, tiz a goodly matter, when youth iz manerly brought up in fatherly looue & motherly aw.

Noow syr, after the Brydegroom had made hiz coors, ran the rest of the band a whyle in sum order, but soon after, tag§ and rag, cut|| and long tail; whear the specialty of the sport waz, to see: how sum for his slakness had a good bob with the bag,* and sum for his haste too toppl dooun right, & cum tumbling to the post: sum stryuing so mooch at the first setting oout, that it seemd a question betweene the man & the beast, whither the coors should be made a horsback or a foot: and put foorth with the spurz, then wold run hiz race byast† among the thickest of the throng, that dooun came they toogyther hand ouer hed: anoother, while he directed hiz coors to the quintyne, hiz iument‡ wold cary him too a mare amoong the pepel: so hiz hors az amoroos, az him selfe adventurous. Another, too run & miss the quintyne with hiz staff, and hit the boord with his hed.

Many such gay gamez wear thear among theez ryders; who by & by after, upō a greater coorage leaft thear quintining, and ran one at anoother. Thear to see the stearn countenauns, the grym

* Made of tree or wood.

† *Titubant*, tripping, stumbling, staggering.—*Cotgrave*.

‡ Yf thy nose thou clense, as may befall,
Loke thy honde thou clense, as wythe-alle,
Priuely with skyrt do hit away,
Other ellis thurghe thi tepet that is so gay.
Boke of Curtasye, ab. 1460 A.D., in *Babees Book*,
p. 301, l. 89-92.

§ *En bloc et en tasche*, one with another, tag and rag, all together.—*Cotgrave*.

|| (*cut and long tail*) This phrase occurs in the Merry Wives of Windsor, where Slender after the declaration of Shallow, that he shall maintain Ann Page like a gentlewoman, says, "Ay, that I will, come *cut and long tail*, under the degree of a squire." It is also found in the First Part of the English Liberal science, entitled, "Ars Adulandi," &c, devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwell 1576, "Yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, *cut and lang-taile*, they shall be welcome." Many other instances of the usage of this phrase are to be met with in old plays, and it seems probable that it originally referred to horses only, which might be denominated *cut and long tail*, as they were curtailed of this appendage or allowed its full growth: and this might be practised according to their value or uses. In this view, *cut and long tail*, would include the whole species of horses, good and bad, and such appears to be the comprehensive meaning of the phrase.

* Hung at the other end of the cross-bar of the quintain-hole.

† *Biais*: m. Byas, compasse, a slope, or sloping.—*Cotgrave*.

‡ Stallion; though Fr. *jument* is a mare.



NORMAN WINDOW IN KEEP
(ABOUT 1135).

looks; the cooragioous attempts, the desperat aduċturez, the daungeroous cooruez,* the feers encounterz, whearby the buff† at the man, and the counterbuff at the hors, that both sumtime cam topling to the ground. By my trooth Master Martyn twaz a liuely pastime, I belecue it would haue mooued sum man too a right meery mood, though had it be toold him hiz wife lay a dying.

And heertoo folloed az good a sport (methooght), prezented in an historicall ku,§ by certain good harted men of Couentree,|| my Lordes neighbors thear: who understanding amoong them y^e thing that could not bee hidden from ony: hoow carefull and studious hiz honor waz, that by all pleazaunt recreasions her highnes might best fynd her self wellcom, and be made gladsum and mery (the groundworke indeede and foundation of hiz Lordships myrth and gladnesse of us all), made petition that they moought renu noow their olld storiall* sheaw: Of argument how the Danez whylom heere in a troubluous season wear for quietnesse born withall & suffeard in peas, that anon by outrage & importabl insolency, abuzing both *Ethelred* the king then and all estates euerie whear byside: at the greucoous complaint & coounsell of Huna the kings chieftain in warz, on Saint Brices night, *Ann. Dom.* 1012.† (Az the book sayz, that falleth yeerely on the thirteenth of November) wear all dispatcht and the Ream rid. And for becauz the matter mencioneth how valiantly our English women for looue of their cuntree behaued themselues: expressed in actionz & rymez after their maner, they thought it moought mooue sum myrth to her Maiestie the rather.

Hok
Tuesday
by the
Couen-
tree men.

Florileg.
li. i. fol.
300.

* ? Fr. *Corvée*, *Courvée*, a dayes worke, due by a Tenant vnto his Lord. *Il a fait une grande courvée*, he hath done a great dayes worke, he hath made a long dayes iourney; or, he hath dispatched the matter with verie much toyle.—*Cotgrave*. [Is not 'coorues' the curves, or short and dangerous compasses, that were fetched by riders at a Jousting? The word 'Tourney' comes from that 'turn' or curve.]

† *Buffe*: f. A buffet, blow, cuffe, boxe, or whirret on the eare, &c.—*Cotgrave*.

‡ See Brand and Ellis's long notes on this custom in their *Antiquities*, i. 107-114, ed. 1841.

§ ? Style. '*Cuc*.' From the letter Q, of *quando* or *qualis* by which the place for a fresh actor's speech was marked.—See *Wedgwood*, iii. 550.

|| On the Coventry men's plays &c. see Thomas Sharpe's "Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City &c." 1825; and "the Coventry Mysteries," edited for the Shakspeare Society by Mr. Halliwell, 1841. "Previous to the supression of the English Monasteries, the City of Coventry was particularly famed for the pageants which were performed in it on the 14th of June, or Corpus-Christi day. This appears to have been one of the ancient fairs; and the Gray Friars, or Friars Minors, of that City, had, as Dugdale relates, "Theatres for the several scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the City, for the better advantage of the spectators; and contained the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the Old English rhyme." Coventry appears to have derived great benefit from the numbers of persons who came to visit these Pageants."—*Burn*, p. 101.

* The origin of this once popular holiday, called Hok-day, Hok-tuesday, or Hoke-tide, is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002; whilst by others, the delivery of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of Hardicanute, on Tuesday, the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. Our author adopts the former hypothesis, though the weight of argument preponderates in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter. Various conjectures have been offered respecting the etymology of the word *Hoke*. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *Huextyde*, the time of scorning or mocking. Bryant prefers *Hock*, *high*, apprehending that *Hock-day* means no more than a high day; but Mr. Denne, in a very learned memoir on this subject, printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 244, &c., adopts Spelman's derivation of the term from the German *Hoeken*, in reference to the practice of *binding*, which was formerly practised by the women upon the men upon the Hoke-tuesday; though he considers this as metaphorical, and that the German word for marriage, or a wedding-feast, *Hock-zeit*, is more immediately applicable, because it was at the wedding feast of a Danish Lord, with the daughter of a Saxon Nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly, not without suspicion of being poisoned.—*Nichols*, i. 446. (v. *Du Cange*, s. v.)

† More correctly 1002.—*Nichols*. S. Brice's Day is November 13th.

The thing said they iz grounded on story, and for pastime woont too bee plaid in oour Cittee yeerely; without ill exampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did so occupy the heads of a number, that likely inoough woold haue had woorz meditationz: had an auncient beginning and a long continuauns; tyll noow of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why onless it wear by the zeal of certain thyr Preacherz:* men very commendabl for their behauiouir and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching away theyr pastime:† wisht therefore, that az they shoold continu their good doctrine in pulpet, so, for matters of pollicy & gouernauns of the Citie, they woold permit them to the Mair and Magistratez: and seyed by my feyth, Master Martyn, they woold make theyr humbl peticion untoo her highnes, that they might haue theyr playz up agayn.

* Compare Stubbes's chapter 'Of Stage-playes and Enterludes, with their wickednes,' *Anatomic*, p. 134-141; Northbrooke's *Treatise on Dicing, Dancing! Plays and Interludes, &c.*, 1577, A.D. (Shaksp. Soc. 1843), &c., &c.

† Before the Reformation there were many public amusements and festivals, by which all the orders of society were entertained; such as the performance of Moralities or sacred plays, popular customs to be observed on certain vigils and Saints' days, and the keeping of many holidays enjoined by the Romish Calendar, in the pastimes common to the lower classes. In the commencement of most reformations in society, it is common to find the reverse of wrong assumed for right; and hence the Puritans, who increased rapidly after the English Reformation, not only banished all those festivals and customs peculiar to the Catholic religion, but also violently declaimed against popular pastimes, innocent in themselves, but condemned by them because they had existed in former times. This illiberal spirit of denouncing public amusements, was, however, not without some opposition; Randolph severely attacked "the sanctified fraternity of Blackfriars," in his "Muses Looking Glass," and Ben Jonson scarcely ever let them pass without some satirical remark. In the Monologue, or "Masque of Owls," which, as it was performed at Kenilworth, in the reign of Charles I., is most to the present purpose, the third owl is intended to represent a Puritan of Coventry, one of those who contributed to put down the Coventry plays, and is thus described:—

HEY OWL THIRD.

"A pure native bird	At dancings and wakes,
This, and though his hue	Had their napkins and posies,
Be Coventry blue,	And the wipers for their noses,
Yet is he undone	And their smocks all-be-wrought
By the thread he has spon:	With his thread which they bought:
For since the wise town	It now lies on his hands,
Has let the sports down	And having neither wit or lands,
Of May-games and Morris,	Is ready to hang or choke him,
For which he right sorry is;	In a skein of that that broke him."
Where the maids and their mates, (?makes.)	

From the above keen satire may be gathered, that in abolishing the Coventry Pageants, the trade of that City suffered considerably. The chief staple of the place was the manufactory of blue thread, of which a great consumption was formerly made in the embroidering of scarfs and napkins. But beside the decay of trade in Coventry, occasioned by the loss of the Pageants, the unpatriotic taste for articles of foreign production was also of considerable detriment to that, as well as to the other manufacturing towns of England. In a very rare tract, entitled, "A Briefe Conceipte of English Pollicye," Lond. 1581, with the initials W. S., and ascribed to Shakspeare, but in reality written by W. Stafford, there are the following passages concerning the effect of this destructive fashion upon the staple of Coventry: and as they tend so particularly to illustrate the period of the Kenilworth pageants, and Laneham's own manners, which were so strongly tinctured with foreign fopperies, it is presumed that their insertion will not be unacceptable to the reader:—"I will tell you; while men were contented with such as were made in the market-towns next unto them, then they of our towns and cities were well set at work, as I knew the time when men were content with caps, hats, girdles, and points, and all manner of garments made in the towns next adjoining, whereby the towns were then well occupied and set a work, and yet the money paid for the stuff remained in the country. Now, the poorest young man in a country cannot be content with a leather girdle, or leather points, knives or daggers, made nigh home. And specially no gentleman can be content to have either cap, coat, dooblet, hose, or shirt, in this country, but they must have this gear come from London, and yet many things hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea; whereby the artificers of our good towns are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the towns beyond the seas, are well set a work even upon our costs.—I have heard say that the chief trade of Coventry was hereto-

But aware, keep bak, make room noow, heer they cum. And fyrst captin Cox,* an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin,

Captain
Cox.

fore in making of blue thread, and then the town was rich even upon that trade in manner only, and now our thread all comes from beyond sea. Wherefore that trade of Coventry is decayed, and thereby the town likewise."—In consequence therefore of the desire for foreign articles of dress and ornament, England, which had been hitherto in a great measure supplied from her own resources, became about the close of the 16th century filled with manufactures which were imported from the Continent, while at the same time the most important British productions were exchanged for what, in a commercial sense, might be considered only as superfluities. This, also, is very forcibly hinted at in the pamphlet before quoted, in the following manner:—"And I marvel no man takes heed to it, what number first of trifles come hither from beyond the sea, that we might either clean spare, or else make them within our realm, for the which we either pay inestimable treasure every year, or else exchange substantial wares and necessary, for them, for the which we might receive great treasure. Of the which sort I mean as well looking-glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windows, dials, tables, cards, balls, puppets, penners (pen-cases), ink-horns, tooth-picks, gloves, knives, daggers, ouches (collars or necklaces), brooches, aglets (the metal ends of tags or laces), buttons of silk and silver, earthen pots, pins and points, hawks' bells, paper both white and brown, and a thousand like things that might be either clean spared or else made within the realm sufficient for us: and as for some things they make it of our own commodities, and send it us again, whereby they set their people a work, and to exhaust much treasure out of this realm: as of our wool they make cloths, caps, and kerseys; of our fells (hides) they make Spanish skins, gloves, and girdles; of our tin, salt-sellers, spoons, and dishes; of our broken linen cloths and rags, paper both white and brown: what treasure think ye goes out of the realm for every of these things; and then for altogether it exceeds mine estimation. There is no man that can be contented now with any other gloves than is made in France or in Spain; nor kersey, but it must be of Flanders dye; nor cloth, but French or Friseadowe; nor ouch, brooch, or agklet, but of Venice making, or Milan; nor dagger, sword, knife, or girdle, but of Spanish making, or some outward country; no not as much as a spur, but that it is fetched at the milliner. I have heard within these forty years, when there was not of these haberdashers that sells French or Milan caps, glasses, knives, swords, daggers, girdles, and such things, not a dozen in all London: and now from the town to Westminster along, every street is full of them, and their shops glitters and shines of glasses as well drinking as looking, yea all manner of vessels of the same stuff: painted cruises, gay daggers, knives, swords, and girdles, that it is able to make any temperate man to gaze on them, and to buy somewhat, though it serve to no purpose necessary."—*Burn*, p. 101.

* One of Ben Jonson's Masques is entitled "The Masque of Owls at Kenilworth, presented by the ghost of Captain Cox, mounted on his Hobby-horse, 1626," printed 1640. The introduction to this masque, in the character of Captain Cox, is short, and the allusions to Laneham's narrative so strong, that it seems to form a necessary appendage to the present note.

Enter Captain Cox, on his Hobby-horse.

Room! room! for my horse will wince,
If he come within so many yards of a prince;
And though he have not on his wings,
He will do strange things.
He is the Pegasus that uses
To wait on Warwick Muses;
And on gaudy-days he paces
Before the Coventry Graces;
For to tell you true, and in rhyme,
He was fol'd in Queen Elizabeth's time,
When the great earl of Lester
In this castle did feast her.
Now, I am not so stupid
To think, you think me a Cupid,
Or a Mercury that sit him;
'Though these cocks here would fit him:
But a spirit very civil,
Neither poet's god, nor devil,
An old Kenelworth fox,
The ghost of captain Cox,
For which I am the bolder,
'To wear a cock on each shoulder.
This captain Cox, by St. Mary,
Was at Bullen with king Ha-ry,
And (if some do not vary)
Had a goodly library,

By which he was discerned
To be one of the learned,
To entertain the queen here,
When last she was seen here.
And for the town of Coventry
To act to her sovereignty.
But so his lot fell out,
That serving then a-foot,
And being a little man,
When the skirmish began
Twixt the Saxon and the Dane,
(From thence the story was ta'en)
He was not so well seen
As he would have been o' the queen,
Though his sword was twice so long
As any man's else in the throng;
And for his sake, the play
Was call'd for the second day.
But he made a vow
(And he performs it now)
That were he alive or dead,
Hereafter it should never be said
But captain Cox would serve on horse
For better or for worse,
If any prince came hither,
And his horse should have a feather;
Nay such a prince it might be
Perhaps he should have three.

for hiz tonsword* hangs at his tablz eend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For az for king† Arthurz book, Huō of Burdeaus, The foour suns of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The squyre of lo degree, The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamoour, Syr Tryamoour, Syr Lamwell, Syr Isenbras, Syr Gawyn, Olyuer of the Castl, Lucres and Eurialus, Virgils life, the castl of Ladiez. The wido Edyth, the King & the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robinhood, Adambel, Clim of the clough & Williā of cloudeley, The Churl & the Burd, The seaues wise Masters, The wife lapt in a Morels skin, The sak full of nuez. The seargeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn cloout, The Fryar & the boy, Elynor Runming, and the Nutbrooun maid, with many moe then I rehearz heere: I beleue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then in Philosophy both morall & naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen:‡ beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, az I may gesse by the omberty§ of hiz books: whearof part az I remember, the Shepherdz kalender, The Ship of Foolz, Danielz dreamz, the booke of Fortune, *Stans puer ad mensam*, the hy wey to the Spithouse, Julian of Brainfords testament, the castl of Loue, the booget of Demaunds, the hundred Mery talez, the book of Riddels, the Seauen sororz of wemen, the prooud wiues Pater noster, the Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit: Beside hiz auncient playz. Yooth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, Impacient pouerty, and herewith doctor Boords breuiary of health. What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs all

Now, sir, in your approach,
The rumbling of your coach
Awaking me, his ghost,
I come to play your host,
And feast your eyes and ears,
Neither with dogs nor bears,
Though that have been a fit
Of our main-shire wit,
In times heretofore,
But now, we have got a little more.
These then that we present
With a most loyal intent,
And, as the author saith,
No ill meaning to the catholie faith,
Are not so much beasts, as fowls,
But a very nest of owls,
And natural, so thrive I,
I found them in the ivy,

A thing, that though I blunder'd at,
It may in time be wonder'd at,
If the place but affords
Any store of lucky birds,
As I make them to flush,
Each owl out of his bush.
Now, these owls, some say, were men
And they may be so again,
If once they endure the light
Of your highness' sight;
For bankrupts, we have known
Rise to more than their own,
With a little-little savour
Of the prince's favour;
But as you like their tricks,
I'll spring them, they are but six,
Hey, owl first! &c.

This masque bears date 1626, but as it was evidently presented before Charles I., when Prince of Wales (who succeeded to the possession of Kenilworth Castle on the decease of his brother Henry), there seems good reason to conclude that it was performed in 1624 at the latest, as the rupture in the Spanish match, which happened in 1623, is clearly referred to in the character of the fifth Owl, and James I. died in March, 1625.

* Perhaps a one-handed sword, from *ton* the one (sup. 37), guesses Nares, who says he has not found the word anywhere else than in this tract, here, and on the next page. Burn (p. 106), more probably, makes it a large two-handed sword. 'In the account of expenses by the Draper's Company in Coventry on Midsummer night, 1557, occur, fifteen gunners, a flag bearer, flute, drum, and a "wysseler." There is also the following item, "payd for a *long-sworde* and the skouryng xijd." which long-sword was evidently for the person marshalling or commanding the fifteen gunners, and seems to be exactly analogous to the *tonsword* of Captain Cox.' *Nichols*, i. 45. *Capt.*—I'll give you the trimming of your two-hand sword, and let me have his skin to make false scabbards.—*Fletcher (!) Philaster*, 1628. A. 5. It appears from this that 'two-handed' was shortened to two-hand. May not *tond* or *ton* in the compound *ton-sword* be only a further corruption?

† For all the details of this famous catalogue, see the 'Forewords' of Mr. Furnival (infra).

‡ Well-read, learned: cp. Fr. *retraicter*, to revise, peruse, overlook, oversee, run over.—*Cotgrave*.

§ ! shadowing. Cp. 'coming events cast their shadows before;' and Fr. *Un poil fait ombre*: Prov. A haire makes a shadow; the smallest things haue their shadows; *viz.* their vse, or some ornament.

auncient: Az Broom broom on hil, So wo iz me begon, trolly lo. Ouer a winny Meg, Hey ding a ding, Bony lass upon a green, My bony on gaue me a bek. By a bank az I lay: and a hundred more, he hath fair wrapt up in Parchment and bound with a whipcord.

And az for Allmanaks of antiquitee, a point for Ephemerides), I weene hee can sheaw from Jasper Laet of Antwarp unto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens unto our John Securiz of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer heerin I dare say hee hath az fair a library for theez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford* and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz in the field a good Marshall at musters:† of very great credite & trust in the toun heer, for he haz been chozē Alecunner‡ many a yeere, when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet to tast of a cup of Nippitate,§ hiz iudgement will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cleen trust & gartered aboue the knee, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding hā lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and another fensmaster with him: thus in the forward making room for the rest. After thē proudly prickt on formost, the danish launsknights|| on horsbak, and then the English: each with their allder poll martially in their hand. Ecuen at the first entree the meeting waxt sumwhat warm: that by and by kindled with corage abothsidez, gru from a hot skirmish unto a blazing battail: first by speare and shield, outrageous in their racez* az ramz at their rut,† with furious encoounterz that togyther they tumbl too the dust, sumtime hors and man: and after fall too it with sworde & target, good bangz a both sidez: the fight so ceassing, but the battail not so ended, folloed the footmen; both the hostez ton after toother: first marching in ranks: then warlik turning, thē frō ranks into squadrons, then intoo triangelz frō that intoo rings, & so winding oout again: A valiant captain of great powerz az fiers az a fox assauting a gooz, waz so hardy to give the first stroke: then get they grisly togyther: that great waz the actiuitee that day too be seen thear a both sidez: ton very eager for purchaz‡ of pray, toother utterly stoout for redemption of libertie: thus, quarrell enflamed fury a both sidez. Twise the Danes had y^e better, but at the last conflict, beaten down, ouercom and many led captiue for triumph by our English weemen.

The Co
unter
play.

This waz the effect of this sheaw; that az it waz handled, made mooch matter of good pastim: brought all indeed intoo the great coourt, een under her highnes windo too haue been seen:

* Brentford in Middlesex, and Bagshot in Surrey, are both on the South-western road. What can have made Laneham quote them here?

† In the musters taken in the 1574 and 1575 A. D. printed in *Household Ordinances*, p. 270-1, Warwick figures for 300 able men, 978 armed men, 300 artificers and pyoneers, 16 demi-lances, and 90 light horse.

‡ *Ale-conner* or *Ale-taster*, an Officer appointed in every Court-Leet, and Sworn to look to the Assize and goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer, sold within the Jurisdiction of the Leet.—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

§ Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1595, describing the excesses at *Church-ales*, on which occasion he says ten or twenty quarters of malt is frequently made into very strong ale or beer; adds, "Then, when this *nippita-tum* this huffe-cappe, as they call it, this nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest of it, and spend the most at it; for he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in God's favour, because it is spent upon his Church forsooth." May not the terms *nappy-ale* and *brown-nappy*; be derived from this origin?—*Nichols*, i. 455.

|| Dan. *lantse* a lance, *knegt* a knight; Germ. *lands-knecht* a foot-soldier.—*Ludwig*.

* They went to battle again, tracing, racing, foining, as two bears. *Morte D' Arthur*, VII. xvij.—*Strachan*.

† Fr. *ruit*: m. The rut of Deere or Bores; their lust; and the season wherein they injender.—*Cotgrave*.

‡ Fr. *pourchas*, eager pursuit, earnest chase after (*Cotgrave*) and so, gain, getting, securing.

but (az unhappy it waz for the bride) that cam thither too soon (and yet waz it a four a clok). For her highnes beholding in the chamber delectabl dauncing indeed: and heerwith the great throng and unrulines of the people, waz cauz that this solemnitee of Brideale & dauncing had not the full muster waz hoped for: and but a littl of the Couentree plea her highnes also saw: commaunded therefore on the Tuisday folloing to haue it ful oout: az accordingly it waz presented, whearat her Maiestie laught well: they wear the iocunder, and so mooch the more becauz her highnes had giuen them too buckes and fue marke in mony to make mery togyther: they prayed for her Maiesty, long, happily to reign & oft to cum thither that oft they moought see heer: & what, reioycing upon their ampl reward, and what, triumphing upon the good acceptauns: they vaunted their play waz neuer so dignified, nor euer any players afore so beatified.

Thus though the day took an eend, yet slipt not the night all sleeping away; for az neyther offis nor obsequy ceased at any time too the full, to perform the plot hiz honor had appoynted: So, after supper waz thear a play presented of a very good theam, but so set foorth by the Actoourz wel handling that pleazure & mirth made it seeme very short, though it lasted too good ourz and more. But stay master Martyn all iz not doon yet.

After the play oout of hand, folloed a most delicioouz and (if I may so terme it) an Ambrosiall Banket: whearof, whither I myght more muze at the deintynesse, shapez and the cost: or els at the variete & number of the disshez (that wear a three hundred) for my part I coold littl tel thē, and noow less I asure yoo. Her maiesty eat smally or nothing: which understood, the ccorsez wear not so orderly serued & sizely set dooun, but wear by and by az disorderly wasted & coorsly consumed, more courtly* methought than curteously. But that was no part of y^e matter; moought it pleaz and be liked & do that it cam for, then waz all well inough.

Untoo this banket thear waz appoynted a mask; for riches of aray, of an incredibl cost; but the time so far spent and very late in the night noow, waz cauz that it cam not foorth to the sheaw. And thus for Sondagz season hauing stayd yoo the lenger (according too the matter) heer make I an eend: ye maye breath yee a while.

Monday
10.

Munday the eyghteenth of this Iuly, the weather being hot, her highnes kept the Castl for coolness, till aboout fue a clok her Maiesty in the Chase, hunted the hart (az afore) of fors; that whyther wear it by the cunning of the huntsmen, or by the naturall desyre of the Deer, or els by both: anon he gat him too soylt agayne, which reyzed the accustomed delight: a pastime indeede so intyrelly pleazaunt, as whearof at times whoo may haue the ful and free fruition, can find no more sacetee (I ween) for a recreation, then of theyr good viaundes at timez for their sustentation.

Well, the game was gotten, and her highnes returning: cam thear uppon a swimming Mermayd (that from top too tayl waz an eyghteen foot long) *Triton Neptunes* blaster: whoo, with hiz trūpet foormed of a wrinklde wealk az her Maiesty waz in sight, gaue soound very shrill & sonoroous, in sign he had an ambassy too pronooouns: anon her highnes waz cummen upon the bridge whearunto he made hiz fish to swim the swifter; and he then declared:‡ how the supreamie salsipotent§ Monarch

* Compare in Russell's Book of Nature, *Babes Book*, p. 163, the caution to the Officers to look out that no dish of a course is stolen, l. 180; and the note there from *Household Ordinances*, p. 45, that Edw. IV's Surveyor is to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing bourde . . . thereof be nothing withdrawn by the squires.' The Banquet was the third and last great meal of the day.

† Took to the water. Fr. *batre les eaux*, a Deere to take soyle.—*Cotgrave*.

‡ This speech, which was delivered in metre, is also preserved by Gascoigne, as well as his charge to the winds, and the speech of the Lady of the Lake following it.

§ An epithet derived from the Latin *salsipotens*, which signifies one who has power over the salt seas: in which sense it is used by Plautus. Trin. 4. l. 1.—*Ainsworth*.

Neptune, the great God of the swelling seaz, Prins of profunditees, and Soouerain Segnior of al Lakez, fresh waterz, Riverz, Creekes, & Goolphs: understanding how a cruel Knight, one syr Bruse sauns* pitee, a mortall enmy untoo Ladiez of estate, had long lyen about the banks of this pool in wayt with his bāds heer to distress the Lady of y^e lake, whearby she hath been restrayned not only from hauing any use of her ancient liberty and territoriez in theez parts: but also of making repayr & giuing attēdauns unto yoo nobl Queen (qd. he) az she woold, she promist, and allso shoold: dooth thearfore signify: and heerto, of yoo az of hiz good leag and deer freend make this request, that ye will deyn but too sheaw your parson toward this pool, whearby yoor only prezens shall be matter sufficient of abandoning this uncurtess knight, and putting all his bands too flight, & also of deliuerauns of the Lady oout of this thralldom.

Moouing heerwith from the bridge & fleeting more intoo the pool, chargeth he in Neptunes name: both Eolus with al his windez, the waters with hiz springs, hiz fysh & fooul, and all his clients in the same, that they ne be so hardye in any fors too stur, but keep them calm & quiet while this Queen be prezent. At which petition, her highness staving, it appeared straight hoow syr Bruse became unseen, his bands skaled,† and the Lady by and by, with her too Nymphs, floting upon her moouable Ilands (*Triton* on hiz mermaid skimming by) approched toward her highnes on the bridge: az well to declare that her Maiestiez prezens hath so graciouslye thus wrought her derlineauns, az allso to excuze her not comming to coourt az she promist, and cheefly to prezent her Maiesty (az a token of her duty & good hart) for her highness recreation with thiz gift, which was *Arion*‡ that excellēt & famouz Muzicien, in tyre & appointmēt straunge well seeming too hiz parson, ryding alofte upon hiz olld freend the Dolphin, (that from hed to tayl waz a four & twenty foot long) & swymd hard by theez Ilands: heerwith *Arion*, for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well coouched words untoo her Maiesty of thanksgyuing, in supplement of the same: beegā a delectabl ditty of a song§ wel apted to a melodious noiz, compoonded of six seuerall instruments, al coouert, casting sooūd from y^e Dolphins belly within, *Arion* the seauenth sitting thus singing (az I say) withoout.

Noow syr, the ditty in miter so aptly endighted to the matter, and after by voys so deliciously deliuerd: y^e song by a skilful artist intoo hiz parts so sweetly sorted: each part in hiz instrument so

* See Sir E. Strachey's modernised edition of Malory's *Morte D' Arthur*, bk. ix. ch. 41, p. 235. "Sir knight said the lady [to Sir Dinadan] I am the wofullest lady of the world; for within these five days here came a knight called Sir Breuse Sance Pitē and he slew mine own brother, and ever since he hath kept me at his own will; and of all the men in the world I hate him most." See also p. 301. Sir Breuse and Sir Dinadan are from the French Romance of the *Prophecies de Merlin*,—Mr. Hy. Ward of the Brit. Mus. tells me,—as are also Alisander le Orphelin and Alice la Beale Pilgrime, p. 268, 273, 455 of Strachey's Malory. [F.]

† Skaled, *dispersed*. Irish scaoilim. Swed. skala. This word occurs not unfrequently in ancient Scottish poetry. It is still used in Cumberland, in the sense of 'to scatter' in hay time.

"Bot then both forray, and the scail,
"Were knit into a sop all hail." *Barbour's Bruce*.

‡ In a collection of "Merry Passages and Jeasts," MS. Harl, 6395, is the following relating to this character:—

"There was a spectacle presented to Queen Elizabeth, upon the water, and among others *Harry Goldingham* was to represent *Arion* upon the dolphin's backe, but finding his voice to be verye hoarse and unpleasant, when he was to perform it, he tears off his disguise, and swears he was none of Arion, not he, but even honest Harry Goldingham, which blunt discoverie pleased the queen better than if it had gone through in the right way:—yet he could order his voice to an instrument exceeding well."

Mr. Malone was of opinion that the collector of these *Merry Passages* was the nephew of Sir Roger L'Estrange.

§ In Gascoigne's account the song is given, but *Protheus* is the character instead of *Arion*, which is seemingly an error.

clean & sharpely tooched; euery instrument again in hiz kind so excellently tunabl: and this in the eeuing of the day, resoounding from the callm waters: whear prezens of her Maiesty & longing too listen had utterly damped all noyz & dyn: the whole armony conveyd in tyme, tune, & temper thus incomparably melodious: with what pleazure (Master Martin) with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyuely delighte this moought pears into the heerers harts: I pray ye imagin yoor self az ye may, for so God iudge me, by all the wit & cunning I haue, I canot express, I promis yoo. *Mais ico bien vielu cela, Monseur, que forte grāde est la pouvoyr qu'auoit la tresnoble Science de Musique sur les esprites humains.* percciue ye me? I haue told ye a great matter noow. As for me surely I was lulld in such liking & so loth too leaue of, y^t mooch a doo a good while after, had I, to fynde me whear I waz. And take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik, that God hath sent me (ye know it iz sumwhat) ile set the more by myself while my name iz Lancham, and grace a God. A, muzik iz a nobl Art.

Knights made. A, stay a while, see a short wit: by my trooth I had almost forgot. This daye waz a day of grace beside, whearin wear auaunced fyue Gentlemen of woorshippe unto the degree of knighthood, Syr Thomas Cecyl, sun & heyr untoo the right honorabl the Lord Treazorer, Syr Henry Cobham, broother unto the Lord Cobhā, Syr Thomas Stanhop, Syr Arthur Basset, and Syr Thomas Tresham: and allso, by her highnez accustomed mercy & charitee, nyne cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called y^e king's euill, for that Kings & Queenz of this Realm, withoout oother medsin (saue only by handling & prayerz) only doo cure it: bear with me, though perchauns I place not thoz Gentlmen in my recitall heer, after theyr estatez: for I am neyther good heraud of armez, nor yet kno hoow they are set in the Subsydy bookez. Men of great woorship I understand they are all.

Tuesday 11. Tuisday, according to commaundement, cam oour Couentree men. What their matter waz, of her highnes myrth and good acceptauns, and rewarde untoo them, and of their reioysing thearat, I sheawd you afore, and so say the less noow.

Wednes. 12. Wednesday in the forenoon, preparacion was in hand for her Maiesty too haue supt in Wedgenall,* a three myle west frō the Castl. A goodly park of the Queenz† Maiestyez: for that cauz, a fayr Paultion, and other prouision accordingly thither sent & prepared, but by meanz of weather not so cleerly dispozed, y^e matter waz countermaunded again. That had her highnes hapned this daye too haue cummen abrode: there was made reddy a deuise of Goddessez and Nymphes: which az well for the ingenious argument, az for y^e wel handling of it in rime & endighting woold undooutedly haue gaine great lyking & mooued no less delight. Of y^e particulariteez, whereof I ces to entreat: least like the boongling carpentar, by missorting the peeceez, I mar a good frame in the bad setting up, or by my fond tempring afore hand embleamish the beauty, when it shoold be reared up in deede.

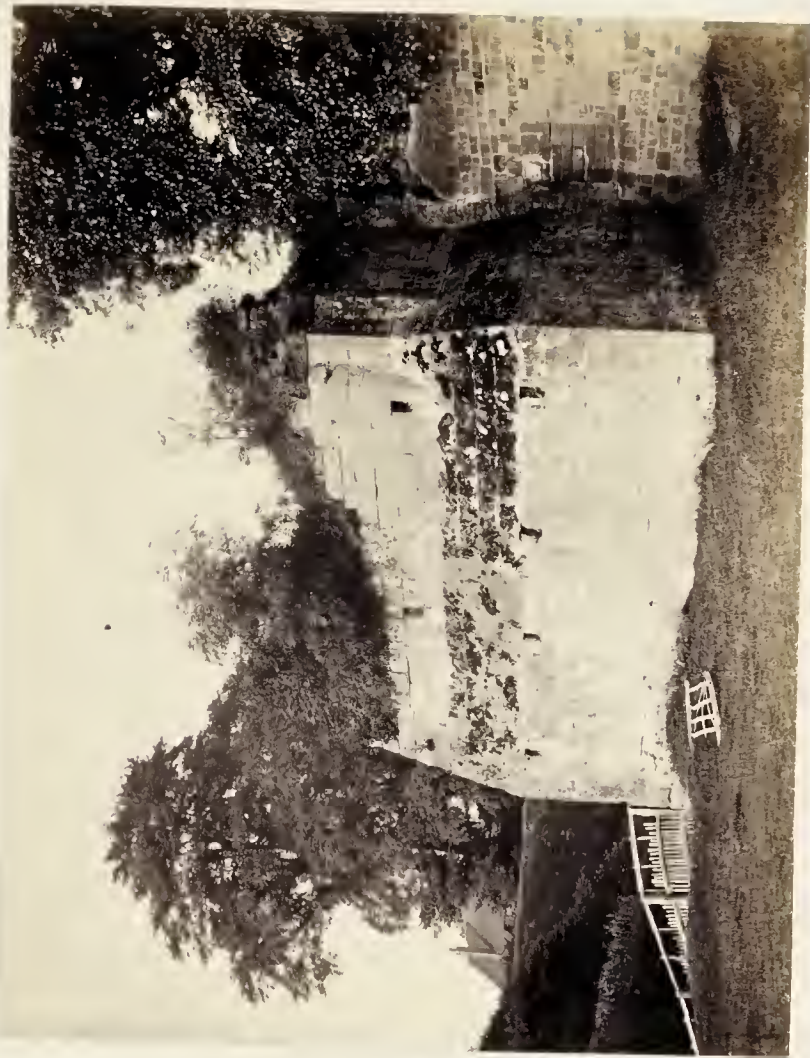
A this day allso waz thear such earnest talkk & appointment of remoouing that I gaue ouer my noting, and harkened after my hors.

The Minstrell. Mary syr I must tell yoo: Az all endeauoour waz to mooue mirth & pastime (az I tolld ye): ceuen so a ridiculous deuise of an auncient‡ minstrell, & hiz song waz prepared to haue been

* Wedgenock Park.

† The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "a goodly park of the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Warwick." It still belongs to that noble family, and is now called *Wedgenock Park*.—*Nichols's Progresses*, 1788, vol. 1.

‡ These were rapidly becoming disreputable, and were adjudged rogues and vagabonds in 1597.—v. note s. v. *Caddis*.



THE SWAN TOWER (13TH CENTURY).

profferd, if meete time & place had been foound for it. Ons in a woorshipfull company, whear full appointed, he recoounted his matter in sort az it shoould haue been uttered, I chaunsed to be: what I noted, heer thus I tel yoo.

A parson very meet seemed he for the purpoze, of a xlv yeers olld, apparelled partly as he woold himself. Hiz cap of:* his hed seemly roounded tonster† wyze: fayr kemb, y^t with a spounge deintly dipt in a littl capons greaz waz finely smoothed to make it shine like a Mallards wing. Hiz beard smugly shauen: and yet hiz shyrt after the nu trink,‡ with ruffs fayr starched, sleeked and glistering like a payr of nu shooz: marshalld in good order: wyth a setting stick,§ and stoout that euery ruff stood up like a wafer: A side|| gooun of kendall green, after the freshnes of the yeer noow; gothered at the neck with a narro gorget, fastened afore with a

* Of, read *off*.

† Tonster, *tonsure*.

‡ l Trick, fashion.

§ Marshalld in good order wyth a setting stick.— The pains bestowed by our ancestors upon their *Ruffs* is little known to the general reader, who will be surprised to find from the ensuing extracts, that it fully equalled the *Dandyism* of the present day. In the “Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses, by P. Stubbes, “1583,” is the following dialogue:—

Theod. I have hearde it saide that they use great ruffles in *Dnalgne*, do they continue them still as they were wont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendment in any thing that I can see, for they not only continue their great ruffles still, but also use them bigger than ever they did: and as I heare say, they have their starching houses made of purpose, to that use and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffles to please the divells eies withall.

Theod. Have they not also houses to set their ruffles in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea marry have they, for either the same starching houses do serve the turn, or else they have their other chambers and secret closets to the same use, wherein they tricke up these cartwheelles of the divells charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

Theod. What tooles and instruments have they to set their ruffles withall? For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles!

Amph. Very true; and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might set forth their divelrie to the world? I would you wist it, they have their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse, kept as bright as silver, yea and some of silver itselfe; and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to any thing so well as a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children used to squirt out water withall, and when they come to starching and setting of their ruffles, then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen any thing. And if you would know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the devill hath given it to name a *putter*, or else a *putting sticke*, as I heare say. They have also another instrument called a *setting sticke*, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and silver, made forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffles.

The same caustic writer also mentions that the Ruffles have “a support or underpropper, called a *supper-tasse*.” Stowe informs us, that “about the sixteenth yeare of the queene (Elizabeth) began the use of steel *poking-sticks*, and until that time all laundresses used setting sticks made of wood or bone.” Autolyeus, in the *Winter's Tale*, has “poking sticks of steel” amongst his other wares.

In Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, is the following observation, “There is such a deale of pinning these *ruffles*, when the fine clean fall is worth them all.” And again, “If you should chance to take a nap in an *afternoon*, your falling band requires no *poking stick* to recover his form.”

Middleton's comedy of *Blunt Master Constable*, 1602, has this passage, “Your ruff must stand in print, and for that purpose get *poking-sticks* with fair long handles, lest they scorch your hands.” To conclude this long note, take the following extract from *Law Tricks*, 1608.

“Broke broad jests upon her narrow heel

“Pok'd her *rabatoes*, and surveyed her *steel*.”

Cotgrave explains *Rabat*, “a Rebatoe for a woman's ruffe; also a falling band.” Menage says from *rabattre*, to put back, because it was at first nothing but the collar of the shirt or shift turned back towards the shoulders.

|| Side, *long*. Vide ante.

white clasp and a keepar close up to the chin; but easily for heat too undoo when he list: Seemly begyrt in a red caddiz* gyrdl; from that a payr of capped Sheffield† kniuez hanging a to side: Out of his bozome drawne foorth a lappet of his napkin, edged with a blu lace, & marked with a trulooue,‡ a hart, and A. D. for Damian: for he was but a bachelor yet.

Hiz gooun had syde§ slecuez dooun to midlegge, slit from the shooulder too the hand & lined with white cotton. Hiz doobled slecuez of blak woorsted, upon them a payr of poynets of tawny

* *Caddis*, worsted, such as is now termed *cruell*, used for the ornament of the dresses of servants and the lower classes in the 16th century. *Caddis* garters are mentioned by writers of that era as worn by country folks.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*. The reader may be amused by this catalogue of a chandler's wares, in the Book of the Corporation of King's Lynn, 1574:—Item it is appointed . . . that y^e chandlers shall retaile all & singular y^e severall wares and things hereafter following, viz. Soap, Salt, Oatmeal, potts, Bottles, Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, Rape-oyle, Honey, whipcord, Bowstrings, trenchers, Ladles, Spoons, fflax, woolcardes, shepps Maundes, fflanns, nailes, shoeing-hornes, Bread-graters, Rushes, Collers, Baskets, Shovells, cart-saddle-trees, Lantornes, sconces, sacking, Plates, trowells, Plate-candlesticks, Claspes, Mailes (?—Port-mantles) . . . Vinagar, Hopps, Horse scales, whipps, whetstones, Lether lashes, Incle (narrow tape), shirtstrings, Cradles, Cadis, Points, Pins, Needles, threed, Combes, Paper, Birdlime, and all other things that appertaineth to the occupation of chandellers. This description of the minstrel's dress is particularly valuable, as it gives a highly-finished portrait of a class of men long since entirely extinct; and therefore, as many parts of the costume alluded to in the text are now unknown, it will form an interesting note to consider over and to explain them. The person mentioned is stated to have resembled "a Squire Minstrel of Middlesex;" and from this Dr. Percy supposes, that "there were other inferior orders, as yeoman minstrels, or the like." Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1595. gives a particular detail of the *Ruff*, which is the first part of the minstrel's dress mentioned in the text. From this it may be learned, that a *setting stick*, also alluded to, was an instrument made either of wood or bone for laying the plaits of the ruff in proper form. "*A side gown of Kendal green*," was a long hanging robe of coarse green woollen cloth or baise, for the manufacture of which the town of Kendal in Westmorland was very anciently celebrated. From Stafford's tract already cited, it would appear that this cloth was appropriated to servants; as he there says, "For I know when a serving-man was content to go in a Kendal coat in summer, and a frise coat in winter; and with a plain white hose made meet for his body; and with a piece of beef, or some other dish of sodden meat, all the week long: now will he look to have at the least for summer, a coat of the finest cloth that may be gotten for money, and his hosen of the finest kersey, and that of some strange dye, as Flanders-dye or French-puke, that a Prince or great lord can wear no finer if he wear cloth." The mantle of Kendal-green, Laneham proceeds to state, was gathered at the neck with a *narrow gorget*, or collar. The gorget, which literally signifies a throat-piece, was originally a part of the female dress, and consisted of a long piece of cloth, or other stuff, wrapped several times about the neck, raised on either side of the face, and secured in the front by long pins driven into the folds. The *white clasp and keeper* were probably formed of pewter, as the words "white metal" are often used in this sense in the writers of Laneham's period. A *red Caddis girdle* was one of those Spanish manufactures of which Stafford so much complains; they derived their name from being made at the city of Cadiz in Spain, out of the fells or untanned hides, which were sent from England to be formed into skins of Spanish leather. To this girdle hung, as usual, a *pair of Sheffield knives, capped*, or placed within a case; for as the use of forks was not much known in England till about the year 1610, knives, for common purposes, were usually made in pairs. The word *napkin* is placed for handkerchief. The description of the minstrel's gown will easily be understood; and it is only requisite to remark upon it, that *fustain-a-napes* signifies Naples fustain, or what was sometimes called fustain bustain. *Nether stocks* were under stockings. The scutcheon about the minstrel's neck, alludes to an ancient custom for persons of that profession to wear the badge of that family by which they were retained; as the three belonging to the House of Percy wore each of them a silver crescent. On 'incle.' Scornful Lady. My wife is learning now, Sir, to weave in inkle. Act IV.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, this class of men had lost all their former credit, and were sunk so low in public estimation, that in 1597, 39th of Eliz., a statute was passed, by which minstrels, wandering abroad, were included with "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," and were directed to be punished as such. This act seems to have put an end to the profession.

† Sheffield kniuez—The intelligent reader will immediately recollect Chaucer's Miller of Trompington who "a Shefeld thwitel bare he in his hose."

‡ A true-lover's knot. *Truelove* is *Herb Paris*, a quatrefoil whose leaves bear a sort of likeness to a true-lover's knot.—See Gloss. to my *Wright's Chaste Wife*. [1] ? a D for Damian—*Chaucer*.

§ 1 wide. 2 long.

Chamblet* laced along the wreast wyth blu threedden points; a wealt† toward the hand of fustian anapes: a payr of red neather stocks: a payr of pumps on hiz feet with a cross cut at the toze for cornz: not nu indeede, yet cleanly blakt with soot, & shining az a shoing horn.

Aboout his nek a red rebond sutable too hiz girdl: hiz harp in good grace dependaunt bēfore him; hiz wreast‡ tied to a green lace and hanging by: under the gorget of hiz gooun a fayr flagon cheyn pewter (for syluer), az a squier minstrel of Middilsex, that trauaild the countree this soomer seazon unto fairz & worshipfull mens hoousez: frō hiz chein hoong a Schoochion, with mettall & cooler resplendant upon hiz breast of the auncient armez of Islington; upō a question whearof: he, az one that waz wel schoold, & coold hiz lesson parfit withoout booke too aunsweat at full, if question wear askt hym, declared: hoow the worshipfull village of Islington in Middelsex, well knoon too bee one of the most auncient and best tooounz in England next London at thiz day; for the feythfull freendship of long time sheawed az well at Cookez feast in Aldersgate streete yeerely upon holly Rood§ day, az allso at all solem bridalez in the citie of London all the yeer after: in well seruing them of furmenty|| for porage, not ouersod till it be too weak: of mylk for theyr flawnez,* not pild† nor chalked: of cream for their custardes, nor frothed nor thykned with floour: and of butter for theyr pastiez, and pyc past, not made of well curds, nor gatherd of whey in sommer: nor mingled in winter with salt butter watered or washt, did obteyn long ago thez woorshipfull armez in cooler & foorm az ye see: which are the armz a field argent, as the field and groound indeed whearin the milkwiuez of thiz woorthy toooun, and euery man els in hys faculty doth trade for hiz liuing: on a Fess Tenny‡ three platez betweene three milke tankerds proper. The three milk tankerds, az the proper vessell whearin the substauns, and matter of their trade iz too and fro transported. The

Islington Arms

* *Camlet* a mixed stuff of wool and silk, used for gowns, temp. Elizabeth and James I., and mentioned by writers of that era. It was originally manufactured of the hair of the camel, and from thence its name is derived. *Fairholt*. Poynets of course is the French poignets, wristbands.

The pennons, and the poinetts, and pointes of shelds,
Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his herte.
Piers Ploughman.

† Wealt is of course welt, border or edging.

‡ Wreast, a tuning hammer, or turn-screw. So much has been written on the subject of our ancient Minstrels, not without considerable diversity of opinion on certain points, that it may suffice to mention here, that so late as the time of Henry VIII. a stated number of minstrels were retained in most of our great or noble families. It appears from the Northumberland household book, that the establishment of that noble family at Lekinfield Castle was either a band of musicians, viz. a tabaret, a lute, and a rebecca; three players on the ancient Northumberland bag-pipe (very different from the Scotch) or reciters of verses or moral speeches of their own composition or others.

The character described by Laneham was most probably only an imitation of the Minstrel. His head "seemly roounded tonster wyze" is tonsure wise, after the manner of the monks: his napkin edged with blue lace, means his handkerchief or cravat: and his designation of a squire Minstrel of Middlesex, implies that there were different orders of Minstrels.

§ 14 Sept., the boys' nutting day.—Ellis's *Brand*, i. 194-5.

At every bridale would he sing and hoppe.
The Cokes Tale.

|| Furmity: 'be frumenty potage.'—*Babees Book*, p. 141, l. 391, etc.; *Percy M.S. Loose Songs*, p. 61, 64-5.

* Fr. *flans*: m. Flaws, Custards, Egge-Pies.—*Cotgrave*. A Cheese-cake or Flawne.—*Hexham*: see *Babees Book* Index. Some bring bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some olde cheese, some custardes, some cakes, some Flaunes, some Tartes, some creame, some meate, some one thinge, some another. Stubbs's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 8vo. ed. 1585, fol. 92 (6). They must have been a favourite dish.

† Not pild or chalked,—not *robbed* or lowered by water, and chalk added to cover the deceit. Fr. 'piller,' to rob or deprive.

‡ An orange-coloured band, horizontally crossing the middle of the shield, of which it takes up the third part.—*Cussans*.

Fess Tenny, which iz a cooler betokening doubt & suspition;* so az suspition & good heed taking, az wel to their markets & seruants, az to their customers y^t they trust not too farre: may bring unto them platez, that iz coynnd syluer; three, that iz sufficient and plentie, for so that number in Armory may well signifie.

The
horn-
spoonz.

For Creast upon a wad of ote strawe for a wreath a boll of furmenty: Wheat (az yee kno) iz the most precious gyft of *Ceres*, and in the midst of it, sticking a doozen of hornspoonz in a bunch az the instruments meetest too eate furmenty porage wythall: a doozen, az a aumber of plenty compleat for full cheere or a banket, and of horn, az of a substauns more estimabl then iz made for a great deel; beeing nether so churlish in weight az iz mettal: nor so froward and brittl to manure, az stone, nor yet so soily in use nor roough to the lips az wood iz; but lyght, plyaunt, and smooth, that with a littl licking wooll allweiz be kept az clen az a dy. With yoor paciens Gentlmen (quoth the minstrel) be it said: wear it not in deede that hornz bee so plentie, hornware I belecue woold bee more set by than it iz, and yet are thear in our parts that wyll not stick too auoow, that many an honest man both in citee and countree hath had hiz hoous by horning well uphollden,† and a daily freend allso at need. And thiz with your fauour, may I further affirm; a very ingenious parson waz hee, that for dignitee of the stuff, coold thus by spooning devise, to aduauns the horn so neer to the hed.

Ovid.
met. l. ix.

With great congruens also wear theez hornspoonz put too the wheat, az a token and porcion of *Cornucopie*, the horn of *Achelous* which the *Naiades* did fil with all good frutez, corn & grain: & after did consecrate unto abooundauns and plenty.

Schola
Salerni
tana.

This skoochion with beastz very aptly agreeing both to the armz and to the trade of the bearerz, gloriously supported. Between a gray Mare (a beast meetest for carying of mylk-tankards) her pannell on her bak, az alway reddy for seruiz at euery feast and brydale at neede, her tail splayd at most eaz: and her filly‡ fole, fallo and a flaxen mane after the syre. In the skro undergrauen (quoth hee) is thear a proper woord, an *hemistichi*, well squaring with al the rest, taken out of *Salernus* chapter, of things that most noorish mans body: *Lac, Cascus infans*. That iz good milke and yoong cheez. And thus mooch Gentlmen, and pleaz you (quoth he) for the armiz of oour worshipfull tooun. And thearwithal made a manerly leg,§ and so held his peas.

Az the cumpany pawzed, and the minstrell seemde to gape after a praiz for hiz *Beauparlar*: and bicauz he had rendered hiz lesson so well: Saiz a good fello of the eūpany, I am sory to see hoow mooch the poore minstrell mistakez the matter: for indeede the armez are thus.

Three milk tankerds proper in a fielde of cloouted cream, three green cheesez upon a shealf of cakebread. The fyrmenty boll and hornspoonz; cauz their profit coms all by horned beastz. Supported by a Mare with a gald back, & thearfore still coouered with a panniell, fisking with her tail for flyez, and her filly* fole neying after the dam for suk. This woord *Lac, Cascus infans*. That iz,

* Orange or yellow is the colour of doubt.

† See the Ballad of "Cuckold's Haven, or The Married Man's Miserie, who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd" in the Ballad Soc.'s *Roxb. Ballads*, i. 148.

‡ Fallow (-coloured) she-foal; *foal* is a horse-colt; *filly* a mare-colt. (F). cp. a colt the foal of an ass—S. Matt. xvi., 5. (A.V.) Foal seems generic, colt masc., filly fem.

§ They can not maintain discourse with a judicious lady, nor make a leg, nor say 'excuse me.'—*Fletcher* (1) *Philaster* 1628, act 1.

a fresh cheez and cream, & the coṃon cry that theez milkwiuez make in London streetes yeerly, betwixt Easter and whitsontide: and this iz the very matter I kno it well inough, and so ended hiz tale, and sate him dooun again.

Heerat every man laught a good, saue the minstrell: that though the fooll wear made priuy, all waz but for sport, yet too see himself thus crost with a contrary ku that hee lookt not for, woold straight haue geen* ouer all; waxt very wayward, eager† and soour: hoow be it [at] last by sum entreaty & many fayr woords, with sak & suger, we sweetned him againe, and after becam az mery az a py. Appeerez then a fresh, in hiz ful formalitce with a louely loock: after three loly cooursiez,‡ cleered his vois with a hem and a reach, and spat oout withal, wiped hiz lips with the hollo of his hand, for fyling§ hiz napkin, temperd a string or too with hiz wreast: and after a littl warbling on hiz harp for a prelude, came foorth with a sollem song, warraunted for story aoot of king Aurthurz acts, the first booke and 26 chapter;|| whearof I gate a copy, and that iz this:

King
Arthur's
book.

So it befell upon a Penticost day,
When king Arthur at Camelot kept coourt rial,
With hiz cumly Queen dame Gaynoour the gay.
And many boold Barrons sitting in hall,
Ladies apparaild in purpl and pall,
When herauds in hukes* herried† full hy
Largess Largess cheualiers treshardy.

A doouty Dwarf too the uppermost deas‡
Right peartly gan prik and kneeling on knee,

* Given.

† Eager, *sharp, tart*. Fr. *aigre*.

‡ curtsies lowly.

§ To prevent. Compare, on the saving of the napkin, the *muffler* above.

|| This is a versification of bk. i, ch. 26, of Malory's edition; ch. 25, p. 48, of Strachey's modernization (Macmillans), 1868. In Caxton's edition, "La Morte d'Arthur," the chapter whence this story is taken is entitled, "How the tydings came to Arthur that King Ryons had overcome xi kynges; and how he desyred Arthur's berde to purfyl his mantel." With respect to the poetical tale given in the text, Dr. Percy, by whom it was printed in his "Reliques," supposes the thought to have been originally taken from Jeffery of Monmouth's History. It has also been printed in "Percy Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans," with some variations in the text, which is probably much more pure than that used by Laneham, since it is stated to have been procured from "a manuscript in the library of the Royal Honourable Thomas Lord Windesore."

Camelot was not Winchester, but Cadbury in Somersetshire.—(Strachey's Malory.) So Drayton Polyalbion, 3rd Song, describes the Ival as—

"The nearest neighbouring flood to Arthur's ancient seat,
Which made the Britaines name thro' all the world so great,
Like Camelot what place was ever yet renowned?
Where, as at Caerleon, oft he kept the Table round,
Most famous for the Sports at Pentecost so long,
From whence all knightly deeds and brave atchievements sprong.

* Derived from the French *huque*, a cloak. The tabards, or surcoats, of the ancient heralds, were often denominated houces, or housings; and this expression was applied, indiscriminately, to their coats of arms, as well as to a dark-coloured robe without sleeves, edged with fur, which they formerly wore.

† Herried, *hooted*, or *cried*. Fr. *Huier*, but *herien*, O.E., to praise aloud.

‡ Des or deas=daïs; pres or preas=press—*William and the Werewolf*.

With steecun* full stoout amids all the preas, †
 Said hail syr king, God thee saue and see,
 King Ryens of Northgalez ‡ greteth well thee,
 And bids that thy beard anon thou him send,
 Or els from thy iawz he will it of rend.

For his robe of state, a rich skarlet mantell,
 With a leauen kings beards bordred aboout,
 He hath made late, and yet in a cantell §
 Iz leaft a place the twelth to make oout:
 Whear thin must stand, bee thou neuer so stoout,
 This must bee doon I tell thee no fabl,
 Mawgre the poour of all thy roound tabl.

When thiz mortall message from hiz moouth waz past,
 Great waz the brute || in hall and in boour,
 The King fumed, y^e queen shirked, ladiez wear agast,
 Princes puft, Barnz blustered, Lordz begā too loour,
 Knights stampd, squirez startld az steedz in a stoour.*
 Yeemen and pagez yeald † oout in the hall,
 Thearwith cam in Syr Kay of Seneshall.

Sylens my suffrainz, quoth the courteyz Knight,
 And in that stoound ‡ the chearm becam still,
 The Dwarfs dynner full deerly waz dight,

* Voice. A. Sax. *stefn*. *Goth stibna* — (he) iherde his fadre stefne of heouene (Homily on Lord's Day—
 beff. 1200. ed. Morris. 1867.)

For truely ye haue as merry a steuen,
 As any angel hath that is in heauen.

Nun's Priest's Tale.

When Little John heard his master speake,
 Well knew he it was his steven.

Verstegan has the word.

† He would assay it as other knights did, but for he was poor and poorly arrayed he put him not far in
 press.—*Mort D'Arthur*, II. ij.—(*Strachan*.)

‡ Northgalez, *Northwales*.

§ Cantell, *a corner*. Belg. kant. Fr. *eschantillon*, *a piece or part*. Shakspeare uses the word in King
 Henry IV. part I., act 3, scene 1.—

“And cuts me, from the best of all my land,
 A huge half-moon, a monstrous *cantle* out.

The stroke of King Ban fell down and carved a cantel of the shield.—*Mort D'Arthur* I. xiv.—(*Strachan*.)

|| Brute, *rumour, report, noise*. Fr. bruit.

* Battle. O. Fr. *estour*.

But William and his wightes were so breme (fierce)
 And so sturnli in that stour stered hem that time,
 That thei hade in a while a hundred islayne.

William and the Werwolf, 3907.

† Yeald, *yelled, cried*.

‡ Stound, *time, moment*. But he ne stint of his strife, noght a stounde while. Alisaunder of Macedoine,
 951. So interval—

Shortly in a stound,
 He told Alla how that this child was found.

The Man of Lawe's Tale.

And on a day it happened in a stound,
 Sike lay the manciple on a maladie.

The Reeve's Tale.

For wine and wastell* hee had at hiz will,
 And when hee had eaten and fed hiz fill,
 One hundred peeces of coyned gould,
 Wear giuen the Dwarfe for hiz message bolld.

Say too Syr Ryens thou Dwarf quoth the king,
 That for his proud message I him defy,
 And shortly with basinz and panz will him ring,
 Oout of Northgalez† whearaz hee and I
 With sweards and no razerz shall utterly try,
 Which of us both iz the better Barber:
 And thearwith he shook hiz sword Excalaber.‡

At this, the minstrell made a pauz & a curtezy, for *Primus*§ *passus*. More of the song iz thear, but I gat it not. Az for the matter had it cum to the sheaw, I think the fello would haue handled it well ynoough.

Her highnes tarried at Kyllingwoorth tyll the wednesday after, being the 27 of this July, and the nineteenth (*inclusiue*) of her Maiestiez cumming thither.

For which seuen daiz, perceyuing my notez so slenderly aunswering: I took it less blame, too ceas & thearof too write yoo nothing at al, thē in such matterz to write nothing likely, And so mooch the rather (az I haue well bethooght me) that if I dyd but ruminare the dayz I haue spoken of, I shall bring oout yet sumwhat more, meet for yoor appetite, (though a deinty tooth haue ye) which I beleue yoor tender stomak will brook wel inoogh.

Whearof part iz: fyrst hoow according to her highnes name ELIZABETH, which I heer say oout of the Hebru signifieth (amoong oother) *Seauenth*|| *of my God*: diuerz things heer, did soo iustly in number square with the same. Az fyrst, her highnes hither cumming in this seauenth moonth; then, prezented with the seauen prezents of the seauen Gods; and after with the melody of the seauen sorted musik in the dollphin, the Lakeladiez gyft.

Then too consider, how fully the Gods (az it seemed) had conspyred most magnificently in aboundauns too bestow theyr influencez & gyfts upon her coourt thear too make her Maiesty merry.

Sage Saturn himself in parson (that bycauz of hiz lame leg could not so well stur) in chayr thearfore too take order with the graue officerz of houshold, holpen in deed with the good aduise of his prudent Nees Pallas: That no unruly body or disquiet, disturb the nobl assemblée, or els be ons so bolld too enter within the Castl gatez. Awey with al rascallz, captiuez, melācholik, waiward, froward, Coniurerz, and Usurers, and to haue laborers and underwoorkmen for y^e beautifying of ony place, alway at hand az they should be commaunded.

Saturn
and
Pallas.

* Wastell, *wastel-bread*, fine bread. Fr. gasteau. Picard. ouastel.

† Northgalez, *Northwales*.

‡ In Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. iii. p. 25, &c. is a reprint of this song, the text formed from the preceding copy, another in Enderbies Cambria Triumphans, and a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

§ First fitt, 1st canto. *Passus* is the name for the divisions in *Piers Plowman*, and 'pas' in *William and the Werewolf*. Thus passed is the first pas, of this pris tale.

|| ? Oath of God.

Jupiter. Sent parsonagez of hy honor & dignitee: Barōs, Lords, Ladies, Iuges, Bishops, Lawyerz, Doctors: with them, vertu, noblness, equitee, liberalitee & cōpassion: due seazō, & fayr weather: sauing that at the petition of hiz deer sister *Ceres*, he graūted a day or two of sum sweet shoourz, for rypening of her corn that waz so well set, & too set forward haruest: Heerwith, bestoed he such plenty of pleazaunt thunder, lightning, & thūderbolts: by hiz halting sun* & fyermaster, *Vulcan* stil fresh & fresh framed: alweyz so frequent, so intellabl, & of such cōtinuans in the spēding (az I partly tolld ye) cōsumed: that surely he seemz too be az of poour inestimabl; so, in store of municion, unwastabl: For all *Ouids* censure that saiz,

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat

Jupiter: exiguo tempore inermis crit.

If Ioue shoold shoot his thūderbolts as oft az mē offend,

Assure yoo hiz artillery, wold soon be at an end.

What a number of estatez & of nobiltee had *Jupiter* assembled thear, gess yee by this: that of sort woorschipfull thear wear in the coourt dayly abooue fourty, whearof the meynest, of a thouzad mark yeerly reuenu, and many of mooch more. This great gyft byside, did hiz deitee cast upon her highnes, too haue fayr & seasonabl weather at her ooun appointment: According whearunto, her Maiestye so had. For her gracious prezens thearfore with this great gift indewed, Lichfeeld, Worcester, and Middelton, with manye placez mo, made humbl sute untoo her highnes too cum: too such whearof as her maiesty coold, it cam: and they seazon acceptabl.

Phœbus. *Phœbus*, Biside his continuall & most delicious muzik (az I haue toold yoo), appointed he Princes too adooorn her highnes coourt, Counselerz, Herauds, and sanguine yooth, pleazaunt & mery, costlye garments, learned Phizicianz, & no neede of them.

Luno. *Luno*, Golld cheynez, Ouchez,† Jewels of gret price & rich attyre, woorn in mooch grace & good beseeming without pryde, or emulation of ony.

Mars. *Mars*. Captainz of good conduct, Men skylfull in feats of armz, pollitik in stratagemz, Good coorage in good quarelz, valiant, & wizehardy: Abandoning pikquarrels & ruffianz: appoynting also Pursyuaunts, currarz‡ & posts still feeding her highnes with nuze & intelligencez from all parts.

Venus. *Venus*. Untoo the Ladyez & Gentlwomen: beauty, good fauour, cumlinesse, galāt attyre, dauncing with cumly grace, sweet vois in song & pleazaunt talkk with express comaundment & charge untoo her sunn on her blessing, that he shoote not a shaft in the Coourt all the while her highnes remayned at Killingwoorth.

Mercuri. *Mercuri*. Learned men in Sciencez, Poets, Merchaunts, Painterz, Karuerz, Players, Engyners, Deuyserz & dexteritee in handling of all pleazaunt attempts.

Luna. *Luna*. Callm nights for quiet rest, and syluer moonshine, that nightly in deede shone for most of her Maiestyez beeing thear.

Plutus. *Plutus*. Blinde *Plutus*. Bags of moony, Customerz,§ Exchaungers, Bankers, Store of riches in plate and in coyn.

* Sun, son.

† Your brooches, pearls and owches.—2 *Henry IV*. Thou shalt make the two stones to be set in ouches of gold.—*Exod. xxvii*.

‡ Currarz, couriers.

§ ! Not buyers, but collectors of the customary dues of manors, and of customs.



GUARD ROOM BUTTRESS
(13TH CENTURY).

Bacchus. Full Cups euery whear, euery oour of all kynds of wyne.

Bacchus.

Thear waz no deintee that the Sea coold yeeld, but *Neptune* (thoough hiz reign at the neerest ly well ny a hundred mile of) did dayly send in great plenty, sweet and freash. As for freashwater fish, the store of all sorts waz aboundaunt.

Neptune.

And hoow bountifull *Ceres* in prouizion waz, gess ye by this: that in lyttle more then a three dayz space, 72 tunn of Ale & Beer was pyept* up quite: what that mighte, whilst with it of bread beside meat, I report me to yoo. And yet, master Controller, master Coferar and diuerz officers of the Coourt, sum honorabl, and sundrye right woorshipfull, placed at Warwik for more rooom in the Castl. But heer waz no ho,† Master Martin, in deuoot drinking allwey; that brought a lak unlookt for, whiche being knoen too the Woorshipfull my Lords good neighboourz, cam thear in a too dayz space frō sundry friendz: a releef of a xl. tunn, till a nu supply waz gotten agayn: and then too oour drinking a freshe az fast az euer we did.

Ceres.

Flora. Abrode & within the hoous ministred of flourz so great a quantitee: of such sweet sauoor, so beautifully hued, so large and fayr of proporcion, and of so straunge kindez & shapez, that it waz great pleasure too see: & so mooch the more, az thear waz great store yet counterfet & foormed of featherz by art, lyke glorioous too the sheaw az wear the naturall.

Flora.

Prothens. Hiz Tumbler that coold by nimblness cast himself intoo so many foorms & facionz.

Prothens.

Pan. His mery morrys dauns with their pype & taber.

Pan.

Bellona. Her quintine knights & proper bickerings of the Couentree men.

Bellona.

Polyphemus. *Neptuncz* sun and heyr (let him I pray & it be but for hiz fathers sake and for his good wyll, be allowed for a God), with hiz bearz, hiz bearwhealps and bandogs.

Polyphemus.

Aeolus. Hollding up hiz windez while her highnes at any tyme took pleazure on the water, and staying of tēpests during abode heer.

Aeolus.

Sylvanus. Beside hiz plentifull prouizion of fooul for deynty viaunds, his pleazaūt and sweet singing byrds: whearof I will sheaw you more anon.

Sylvanus.

Echo. Her wel endightd dialog.

Echo.

Faunus. Hiz ioly Sauage.

Faunus.

Genius loci. Hiz tempring of al things within & without, with apt tyme & place too pleazure & delight.

Genius loci.

Then the three *Charites*: *Aglaia*, with her lightsum gladnes. *Thalia* he floorishing freshnes. *Euphrosyne*, her cheerfulnes of spirite, and with theez three in one assent *Concordia*: with her amitee and good agreement. That too hoow great effects their poourz wear pooured oout hear among us,

Charites.

* Piped, suckt, swallowed.

† Ho, a stop, limit.

He pulled out a sword and cried, Ho!
No more, up paine of losing of your hed.
Knyght's Tale.

Avaritia modum nescit
Covetousness hath no ho with it.
Gate of Languages, 1659.

They affectionately make humble suit and petition to your Majesty, that you will parentally condescend to waive for the day your royal privilege of interrupting the combat, by flinging down of truncheon, or crying of Ho! until the battle shall be utterly fought to an end.—*Fair Maid of Perth, c. xxi.*

Hast thou not done enough? of threescore thousand this day hast thou left on liue but fifteen thousand, and it is time to say Ho!—*Morte D' Arthur I. xv. (Strachan.)*

let it bee iudged by this: that by a multytude thus met of a three or foour thoouzand every day; and diuers days more, of so sundry degrees, professions, agez, appetytz, dispozicions & affections: such a drifte of tyme waz thear passed, with such amitee, looue, pastime, agreement, and obediens whear it shoold: and without quarrel, iarring, grudging, or (that I could heer) of yll woord between any. A thing master Martin very rare & straunge, and yet no more straunge then tru.

Parce. The *Parce* (az earst I shoold haue sayd) the first night of her Maiestiez cumming: they heering & seeing so precious ado heer at a place unlookt for, in an uplōdish cuntree so far within the Ream: preassing intoo euery steed whear her highnes went, whearby so duddld* with such varietee of delyghts, did set aside their huswifrye, could not for their harts tend their work a whyt. But after they had seen her Maiesty a bed, gat them a prying into euery place old hags, az fond of nuellries,† az yoong girls that had neuer seen Coourt afore: but neyther full, with gazing nor wery with gadding, leaft of yet for that time, and at high midnight, gate them gigling, (but not alooud) into the prezens Chamber: minding indeed with their present diligens, too recompens their former slaknes.

So, setting themselues thus dooun too their work: alas sayz *Atropos* I haue lost my sheerz. *Lachesis* laught apace and woold not draw a threed: And thinke ye damez that ile hoold the distaff whyle both ye sit idle? why no by my mootherz soll qd. *Clotho*. Thearwith fayr lapt in a fine lawn the spindel and rok,‡ that waz dizend with pure purpl sylk, layd they safely up toogyther: that of hir Maiestyez distaff for an eighteen dayz, thear waz not a threed spoon I assure you.

The too systers after that, (I hard say) began their woork again: y^t long may they continu, but *Atropos* hard no tydings of her sheers, and not a man that moned her loss. Shee iz not belooued surely, for this can I tell yoo: that wither it bee for hate too the hag, or looue to her highnes, or els for both, euery man prayz God she many neuer find them for that woork, and so pray I dayly and duly with the deuootest.

Thus partly ye perceyue noow, hoow greatly the Gods can do for mortals, and hoow mooch alwey they looue whear they like: that what a gentl Ioue waz thys, thus curteously too contriue heer such a treyn of Gods? Nay then rather, master Martin (to cum oout of oour poeticaliteez, & too talk no more serioous terms), what a magnificent lord may we iustly account him, that cold so highli cast order for such a Iupiter & all hiz Gods besid: that none with hiz influenz good property or prezēt wear wanting: but aalweis redy at hand in such order and aboundans for the honoring and delight of so high a Prins, oour most gracious Queen & souerain. A prins (I say) so singuler in preeminens & worthines abooue al other Princes and digniteez of oour time: thooȝh I make no cōparison too yeers past: to him that in thiz point, either of ignorauns (if any such can be), or els of maleuolens woold make any doout: *Sit liber iudex* (az they say) let him look on the matter, and aunswer himself, he haz not far too trauell.

Az for the Amplitude of his Lordships mynde, all bee it that I poor soll can in conceit no more attain untoo, then iudge of a gem whearof I haue no skill: ye, thooȝh daily worn & resplendant in

* Duddld. This strange word, which by the context must mean *confused* or *interrupted*, seems to have originated in the prolific brain of Laneham. It may have been intended for *muddled*, and perhaps it is too far-fetched to derive it from Islandic *dya*, imperf. *dude*, pendere facio; *dudis*, motabat, quassabatur. Cp. doddle, to totter; doddypate, doddypole, a numskull, fool. (F) So Doctor Dodypol, a Comedy, 1600. Steed of course is 'place,' as elsewhere.

† Novelries, novelties, new things.

‡ A distaff.—See *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, l. 503, 508, and its Index. A distaff held in the hand, from which the wool was spun by a ball fixed below on a spindle, upon which every thread was wound up as it was done. It was the ancient way of spinning, and is still in use in many northern counties. *Vide* Bailey.

myne ey: yet sum of the vertuze and propertiez thearof, in quantitee or qualitee so apparaunt az cannot be hidden but scene of all men, moought I be the boolder to reoport her unto yoo: but as for the valu yoor iewellers by their Carrets let them cast and they can.

And fyrst: who that considerz, untoo the stately seat of Kenelwoorth Castl, the rare beauty of bilding that his honor hath auauenced;* all of the hard quarry stone: euery room so spacioous, so well belighted, and so hy roofed within. So seemely too sight by du proportiō without: a day time on euerye side so glittering by glasse; a nights by continuall brightnesse of candel fyre & torch-light transparent through the lyghtsom wyndz, as it wear the Egiptian *Pharos* reluecent untoo all the Alexandriā coast: or els (too talke merily with my mery freend) thus radiaunt, as thooch *Phabus* for hiz eaz would rest him in the Castl, and not euery night so to trauell dooun unto the Antipodes. Illeertoo so fully furnisht of rich apparell & utensilez apted in all pointes to the best.

Kenil-
worth
Castle
described.

Untoo thiz, hiz honorz exquisit appointment of a beautifull Garden,† an aker or more of quantitee that lyeth on the north thear. Whearin hard all along the Castl wall iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten foot hy & a twelue brode: ecuen under foot & fresh of fyne grass; uz iz also the side thearof toward the gardien, in whiche by sundry equall distauneez; with obelisks sphearz, and white

The
Garden.

* This description refers to that part of the Castle called *Leicester's Buildings*.

† It would appear from the "Secret Memoirs of the Earl of Leicester," that the magnificent gardens and spacious parks at Kenilworth were not completed without some oppression on the part of their possessor, as the unknown author of the above work thus speaks concerning them:—"The like proceedings he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift, of 24*l*. yearly rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better than 500*l*. by year, by an old record also found, by great good fortune, in a hole of the wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out records for his purpose;) by virtue whereof he hath taken from his tenants round about, their lands, woods, pastures, and commons, to make himself parks, chases, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family which was maintained there before this devourer set foot in that country." At a subsequent part of the same volume is mentioned Lord Leicester's "intolerable tyranny" upon the lands of one Lane, "who offered to take Killingworth Castle." A royal favourite, however, and a successful minister, was never yet without enemies, and it is certain that Lord Leicester was not; the whole of the volume out of which these extracts have been made, is filled with charges of the most dreadful crimes with which human nature can be stained; yet even these are related with such levity, such seeming familiarity with vice, that the reader is tempted to believe that a great proportion of it was fabricated by malice, and that the author was even worse than the character he describes. But to return:—The garden mentioned in the text will doubtless remind some readers of those splendid pleasure-grounds which belonged to Lord Burleigh, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, and Sir Walter Raleigh's at Shirburne Castle in Dorsetshire. Of the former, Peck, in his "*Desiderata Curiosa*," says, "He also greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly. Where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." Sir Paul Hentzner, in his "*Journey into England*," when speaking of the same place, describes it more particularly. "From this place" [i. e. the gallery,] "one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden: After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman Emperors, in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, is an oval table of red marble." Concerning the pleasure-grounds at Shirburne, in Peck's work before cited, there is only a notice that Sir Walter Raleigh had drawn the river through the rocks into his garden; but Coker states, that he built in the park adjoining to the Castle, "from the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of such variety and delight, that whether you consider the goodness of the soil, the pleasantness of the seat, and other delicacies belonging to it, it is unparalleled by any in these parts." The above extracts will be an amusing counterpart to Laneham's elaborate description of Lord Leicester's gardens.

bearz* all of stone upō theyr curioouz basez, by goodly shew wear set: too theez, too fine arbers redolent by sweet trees and floourz, at eeh end one, the garden plot under that, with fayr alleyz green by grass, eeuen voided from the borderz a both sydez, and sum (for chaunge) with sand, not light or to soft, or soilly by dust, but smooth and fyrm, pleasaunt too walk on, az a sea shore when the water iz auaild:† then much gracified by du proporeion of four eeuen quarterz: in y^e midst of each, upon a base a too foot square, & hy, seemly bordered of itself, a square pilaster rizing pyramidally of a fyfteen foote hy: Simmetrically peerced through frō a foot beneath, until a too foot of the top; whearupon, for a Capitell, an Orb of a ten inches thik: euery of theez (with hiz base), from the groound too the top, of one hole pees, heauen oout of hard Porphiry,‡ and with great art & heed (thinks me) thyther conueyd & thear erected.

The
Cage.

Whear further allso by great east & cost the sweetnes of sauooour on all sidez, made so respiration§ frō the redolent|| plants and fragrāt earbs and floourz, in foorm, cooler and quantitee so deliciously variant: and frute Trees bedecked with their Applz, Peares and ripe Cheeryez. And unto theez in the midst, agaynst y^e Terres: a square cage, sumptuoous and beautifull, ioyned hard to the Northwall (that a that side gards the gardein, as the gardein the Castl) of a rare form and excellency was reyzed; in heyth a twentye foot, thyrty long, and a foorteen brode. From the ground strong & close, reared breast hy, whearat a soyl of a fair moolding was coouched all aboout: From that upward, foour great wyndoz a froont and too at each eend, euery one a fyue foot wyde, az many mo eeuen abooue them, diuided on all parts by a transum* and Architraue† so likewise raunging aboout y^e Cage. Each windo arched in the top, and parted from oother in eeuen distauns by flat fayr bolteld‡ Columns, all in foorm & beauty like, that supported a cumly Cornish couched al along upon y^e bole§ square. Which with a wire net, finely knit, of mashez sixe square, an inch wyde (az it wear for a flat roof) and likewise the space of euery windo with great cunning and cumlines, eeuen and tight waz all ouerstrained, Under the Cornish again, euery part beautified with great

* These effigies were allusive to the ancient badge of the Earls of Warwick, which was, *a bear erect Argent, muzzled Gules, supporting a ragged staff of the first*; the ragged staffs were introduced in another part of the garden. Lord Leicester's connexion with the Earls of Warwick was through the houses of Lisle and Beauchamp, brought into the family of Dudley by his mother Elizabeth Talbot. In 1561, Ambrose Dudley, Robert's elder brother, was made Earl of Warwick, and consequently the badge was thus introduced. See note from Sir P. Sydney, ch. vii.

† Avaled, lowered, gone down, ebbd.

‡ Poor Laneham was sadly hoaxed in this. Fragments of this porphyry have been found, but it is sand-stone *painted*; nor were the pillars in 'one hole pees.'

§ Lat. *respiro*, revive, be refreshed; fit for breathing, refreshing.

|| Lat. *redolent*, emitting a scent, diffusing an odour.

* *Transom*, an overthwart Beam or Brow-Post: *Kersey's Phillips*; the piece of Timber which is fram'd across in a double light Window: *Blount*.

† *Architrave*, the main Beam in any Building, and the first Member of the Entablature, *i. e.* that part of a Stone-Pillar which is above the Capital and below the Frize: In Timber-Buildings, it is called the *Reason-piece* or *Master-Beam*; in Chimneys, the *Mantle-piece*; and over the Jambs of Doors or Lintels of Windows, 'tis termed *Hyperthyron*.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

‡ Boltel is a term used in building, to signify any prominence or jetting-out beyond the flat face of the wall.

§ Bole-square? akin to 'throat-boale.'—Reynolds' *God's Revenge*, IV. xi. The projecting square—flush in line with the bolteld columns, which stood out from the face of the windows. Laneham has a trick of coining words.



KENILWORTH CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH.

Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, and Saphyres: poynted, tabld, rok* and roound; garnisht with their golld, by skilfull hed and hand, and by toile and pensill so lyuely exprest, az it mought bee great marueil and pleasure to consider how neer excellency of art could approach untoo perfection of nature.

Bear with me good cuntreeman thooough thinges be not sheawd heer az well az I woold, or az well az they shoold. For indeed I can better imagin & cōceyue that I see, than wel utter or duly declare it. Holez wear thear also and cauerns in orderly distauns & facion, voyded intoo the wall az well for heat, for coolnes, for roost a nightz & refuge in weather, az allso for breeding when tyme iz. More, fayr eeuen and fresh hollye trecz for pearching and proming† set within, tooward each eend one.

Heerto their diuersitee of meats, theyr fine seuerall vessels, for their water, and sundry grainz, And a man skilful and diligent to looke too them and tend them.

But (shall I tell yoo) the siluer soounded Lute, withoot the sweet tooch of hand: the glorioous goollden cup, withoot the fresh fragrant wine, or the rich ring with gem, without the fayr feawtered‡ finger, iz nothing indeede in hiz proper grace & use: Euen so his Honor accounted of thiz mansion, till he had plast thear tenauntes according. Had it therefore replenishte with liuely Burds, English, French, spanish, Canarian, and (I am deceaued if I saw not sum) African. Whearby, whither it becam more delightsum in chaunge of tunez and armony too the eare: or els in differens of coolerz, kyndez, & propertyez too the ey, Ile tell yoo if I can whē I haue better bethought me.

One day (Master Martin) az the Gardin door waz open, & her highnes a hunting, by licens of my good freend Adriā, I cam in at a bek, but woold skant oout with a thrust: for sure I waz loth so soon to depart.

The Gardiner.

Well may this (Master Martyn) bee sumwhat too magnitude of mynde, but more thearof az ye shall kno, more cauz ye shall haue so too think: heer out what I tel yoo, and tell me when we meet.

In the center (az it wear) of this goodly Gardein, was theer placed a very fayre Fooountain,§ cast intoo an eight square, reared a four foot hy, from the midst whearof a Colum up set in shape of too *Athlants*, ioined togeather a backhalf, the toon looking East, toother West, with theyr hands uphollding a fayr formed boll of a three foot ouer: from wheans sundrye fine pipez did liuely distill continuall streamz intoo the receyt|| of the Fooountain: maynteined styll too foot dceep by the same

The Fountain.

* It is evident that these precious stones were imitated in painting; and that they were meant to represent the gems in their various appearances. *Pointed*, or rose, as it is termed by the lapidaries, is when a stone is cut with many angles rising from an octagon, and terminating in a point. *Tabled* is when a diamond is formed with one flat upper surface; and the word table also signifies the principal face. *Rough* is understood to mean the gem in its primary state, when its radiance is seen to sparkle through the dross of the mine. *Round* denotes the jewel when it is cut and polished with a convex surface. The expression, "Garnished with their gold," which follows in the text, signifies 'ornamented with their settings.'

† † Preening: for birds to trim and clean their feathers on.

Upstood and pruned him the bird
Which dead had been in all our sight.
Chaucer's Dream.

‡ *Featured*, shaped, or *feutred*, poised.

§ In a valuation of the Castle of Kenilworth, *Cotton MSS. Tiberius E viii.* without date, but temp. James I., and somewhat injured by the fire, is the following item:—

A fauntaine of white marble, engraven round about with storie woork, with the Queenes seat of free-stone, both being in the garden—valued at 50*l.*

A view of this fountain is preserved in the copy made by Beighton, in 1716, of a large fresco painting, formerly at Newnham Padox, representing the Castle as it appeared in 1629, and from which an engraving was made in 1817.

|| Pool, basin. Whence could this water have been brought?

fresh falling water: whearin pleazauntly playing too & fro & round about Carp, Tench, Bream, and for varietee, Perch & Eel, fysh fayrliking all and large, in the toppe the ragged staffe; which, with the boll, the pillar, and eyght sides beneath, wear all heaven oout of rich & hard white Marbl. A one syde, *Neptune* wyth hiz *Trident** *Fuskin* triumphing in hiz Throne, trayled into the deep by his marine horsez.

On an other, *Thetis* in her chariot drawn by her Dollphins. Then *Triton* by hiz fyshez. Heer *Protheus* hearing hiz sea buls. Thear *Doris* & her doughterz solacing a sea & sandz. The wauetz soourging with froth & fome, entermengled in place, with whalez, whirlpoolz, sturgeonz, Tunneyz, Conchs & wealks: all engrauē by exquisit deuize and skill, so az I maye thinke this not much inferioour unto *Phæbus* gategz, which (*Ouid* sayz) & peraduentur a pattern to thiz, y^t *Vulcan* himself dyd cut: whearof such was the excellency of art, that the woork in valu surmoounted the stuff, and yet wer the gategz all of clean massy syluer.

Heer wear thinges ye see moought enflame ony mynde too long after looking: but whoo so was found so hot in desyre, with the wrecast† of a Cok was sure of a cooler: water spurting upward with such vehemency, az they shoold by & by be moystned from top too to; The hees to sum laughing, but the shees to more sport.

Thiz sumtime waz occupied to very good pastime.

A Garden then so appoynted, az whearin aloft upon sweet shadoed wallk of Terres,‡ in heat of Soomer, too feel the pleazaūt whysking winde abooue, or delectabl coolnes of the fountaine spring beneath: Too taste of delicious strawberiez,§ cherryez, & oother frutez, ceuen frō their stalks: Too smell such fragrancy of sweet odoourz, breathing from the plants carbs & flourz: Too heer heer such naturall niceloodious musik, and tunez of burds. To haue in ey, for myrth sumtime theez undersprynging streamz: then, the woods, the waters (for both pool & chase wer hard at hād in sight) the deer, the peepl (that oout of the East arber in the base coourt, allso at hande in view), the frute trees, the plants, the carbs, the flourz, the chaunge in coolers, the Burds flyttering, the Fountaine streaming, the Fysh swymming: all in such delectabl varietee, order dignitee: whearby, at one moment in one place, at hande without trauell to haue so full fruition of so many Gods blessinges, by entyer delight unto al sencez (if all cā take) at ones: for *Etymon* of the woord woorthy to be calld Paradys:¶ and though not so goodly az Paradis for want of the fayr Riuers, yet better a great deel by the lak of so unhappy a tree. Argument most certein of a right nobl minde, that in this sort coold have thus all contriued.

But Master Martin, yet one wyndlesse* must I featch, too make ye one more fayr coorz and I can; and cauz I speak of one: let me tel yoo a littl of the dignitee of onehod, whearin allweyz, al

* *Trident* *Fuskin*. This bombastical phrase for Neptune's trident, means literally his *trident*. Lat. *fuscinā*.

† The turn of a cock. There was at Nonsuch a pyramid with concealed fountain-pipes, which at the 'wreast of a cok' would spirt out water on the unwary he's and she's who ventured near. A merrie disport!

‡ This still remains ruined but 'sweet shadoed.'

§ The middle of July, or (allowing for change of style) the end of the month—even when the Queen came. The strawberry was rarely cultivated at this period, but gathered wild, as it is in Switzerland, &c., nowadays.—*Parker*. July was late for the cherries.

¶ Paradys. It was no unusual thing to so name pleasure-grounds, &c., about this period: those at Wresil and Lekinfield were thus called in the East Riding.

* *Windlass* or *Windless* (in a Ship), a Drawbeam or piece of Timber having six or eight squares, and fixed on the Stern aloft; which is now only us'd in small Ships, and in Flemish Vessels that are lightly Manned. But it will purchase or draw up much more than any Capstan, in the weighing of an Anchor, and that without

Metam.
2.

Paradisus,
Græc.
Hortus
amoeniss,
Aut Me-
brae.
Paradis
id est
Hortus.

The
number, 1.

hy Deitee al Soueraintee, Preeninens, Principalitee and Concord withoout possibilittee of disagreement iz conteyned. Az, one God, one Sauioour, one Feith, one Prins, one Sun, one Phenix, and az one of great wisdom sayz: one* hart one wey. Whear onehod reinz: ther quiet bears rule, & discord fliez a pase. Three again may signify cumpany, a meeting, a multitude, pluralitee; so az all talez and numbrings frō too untoo three, and so upward, may well be counted numberz, till they moount untoo infinitee, or els too confusion, which thing the sum of Too can neuer admit: nor it self can well be coounted a number, but rather a freendly coniunction of too ones, that keeping in a synceritee of accord, may purport unto us, Charitee each too other, mutuall looue, agreement & integritee of friendship without dissimulation Az iz in theez. The too Testamentes; The too Tables of the Law. The too great lights: *Duo luminaria magna*: The Sun & Moon. And but mark a lytel, I pray, and see hoow of all things in the world, oour toongs in tallk doo alweyz so redily trip upon tooz, payrz & cooplz: sumtyme as of things in equality sumtime of differens, sumtime of cōtrariez, or for cōparyzon, but cheefly for the most part, of things that between thēseluez do well agree & ar fast linked in amitee: Az fyrst for pastimez, hoounds and hawks: deer, red & fallo, hare & fox, partrich & fezaunt, fysh & fooul, carp & tench. For warz, spear & sheeld, hors & harneis, swoord & bukler: for sustenauns, wheat & barly, peaz and beanz, meat and drinke, bread & meat, beer & ale, appls and pearz. But lest by such dualiteez I draw yoo too far: let us heer stay, and cum neerer home. See what a sort of freendly biniteez† we oour seluez do consist & stond upon. Fyrst oour too feet, too legs, too kneez, so upward; and abooue, too shoolderz, too armz, & too hāds, But cheefly oour principll Too, that iz, body and soll: then in the hed whear all oour sensez meet, and allmost all in Too: too nozethrills, too earz and too eyz. So ar we of freendly Too: from top too to. Wel, to this number of biniteez, take ye one mo for an upshot, & heer an cend.

Too Dyallz ny unto the battilments ar set aloft upon too of the sidez of Cezarz toour one East, toother Soouth‡ for so stond they best to sheaw the oourz too the tooun & cuntree: both fayre large and rich; by byse§ for ground & goold for letterz whearby they glitter conspicuous a great wey of. The klokbell that iz good & shrill, waz commaunded too silens at first, and in deede sang not a note all the while her highnes waz thear, the klok stood also still withall. But mark noow, whither wear it by chauns, by constellation of starz, or by fatall appoyntment (if fatez and starz doo deal with dialz.) Thus waz it indeede. The handz of both the tablz stood firm and fast, allweyz poynting too iust too a klok, still at too a klok. Which thing beholding by hap at first: but after seriously marking in deed, enprinted intoo me a deepe sign & argument certein. That thiz thing amoong the rest, waz for full signifauns of his Lordships honorabl, frāk, frendly, and nobl hart toward al estates. Which, whither cum they to stay & take cheer, or straight to returne: too see, or to be scene: cum

The too
Dialz.

The
Dialz at
it a klok.

Danger to the Men that heave.—*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706. But the context above points to 'Wanlass, a Term in Hunting, as *Driving the Wanlass*, i. e. the driving of Deer to a stand; which in some Latin Records is termed *Fugatio Wanlassi ad Stabulum*, and in Domesday-Book *Stabilitio Venationis*.—ib. (?)

* The motto of the great Lord Bacon was *Cor unum una via*.

† Biniteez The author has just used *dualiteez*; and here, to show his learning and ingenuity, manufactures the word *biniteez*.

‡ The marks occasioned by fastening up these dials are very distinct and obvious at the present day.

§ *Bis* browne, duskie, swart, blackish.—*Cotgrave*. So in old French of brown bread. Bice is a pale blue colour. George Peale, 1593 (in Strickland, vol. vii.)

I saw a Virgin Queen, attired in white,
Leading with her a sort of goodly Knights,
With garters and with collars of St. George:
Elizabeth, on a compartimal of bice in gold was writ.

Miss Strickland says "a green colour."

they for duty too her Maiesty or looue too hiz Lordship, or for both: Cum they early or late: for his Lordships part, they cum allweyz all at too a klok, een iump* at too a klok: That iz to say in good harte, good acceptauns, in amitee and freendlye wellcoom. Who saw els that I saw, in right must say az I say. For so manye thinges byside, Master Humfrey wear heerin so consonant unto my construction, that thiz poynting of the klok (to my self) I took in amitee, as an oracle certain. And heer iz my windlesse,† lyke yoor coorse as pleaz ye.

But noow syr too cum to cend. For receyuing of her hignes, and entertainment of all thoother estatez. Syns of delicatez that ony wey moought serue or delight: az of wyne, spice, deynty viaunds, plate, Muzik, ornaments of hoous, rich arras & sylk (too say nothing of y^e meaner thinges), the mass by prouizion waz heaped so hoouge, which the boounty in spending did after bewray. The conceit so deep in casting the plat at first. Such a wizdom and cunning in acquiring things so rich, so rare, and in such abundauns; by so imminens‡ & profuse a charge of expens, whiche by so honorabl seruiss, & exquisit order, curteizy of officerz and humanitee of al, wear after so boountifully bestoed and spēt, what may this ezpress, what may this set oout unto us, but only a magnifyk minde, a singuler wizdoom, a prinsly purs, and an heroicall hart? If it wear my theam Master Martyn, too speake of hiz Lordships great honor & magnificens, though it be not in me too say sufficiently, az bad a penclark az I am, yet coold I say a great deel more.

The
great
Tent.

Deut. 3.
ii.

But being heer now in magnificens, & matterz of greatnes, it fals wel too mynd. The greatnes of his honors Tent, that for her Maiestyez dining was pighte at long Ichington, the day her highnes cam to Killingworth Castl. A tabernacl indeed for number and shift of large and goodlye roomz, for fayr & eazy offices both inward & ooutward al so likesū in order & eyesight: that iustly for dignitee may be comparabl with a beautifull Pallais, & for greatnes & quātitee with a proper toonn, or rather a Cittadell. But to be short, least I keepe yoo too long from the Ryall Exchaunge noow, and too cauz yoo conceyue mooche matter in feawest woordes. The Iron bedsted of Og the king of Basan (ye wot) waz foour yards and a halfe long, and too yards wide, whearby ye consider a Gyaunt of a great proportion waz he. This Tent had seauen cart lode of pynz§ perteing too it: noow for the greatness, gess az ye can.

And great az it waz (too marshall oour matters of greatnes together) not forgetting a Weather at Grafton, brought too the Coort, that for body and wooll waz exceding great, the meazure I tooke not, let me sheaw you with what great marueyl a great Chyld of Leycester shire, at this lōg Ichington, by the Parents waz prezented: great (I say) of limz & proportion, of a foour foot & foour inches hy: and els lanuginooous|| az a lad of eyghteen yeerz, beeing indeede auowd too be but six yeer oldd: nothing more bewraying hiz age thā hiz wit; that waz, az for thooz yeers, simpl & childish.

Terent.
Bias.

Az for unto hiz Lordship, hauing with such greatnes of honorabl modestye & benignitee so passed foorth, as *Laudē sine invidia et amicos pararit*. By greatnesse of well dooing, woon with all sorts to bee in such reuerens, az: *De quo mētiri fama veretur*. In synceritee of freendship so great, az no man more deuootly worships

Quid.

Illud amicitiae sanctū et venerabile nomen.

* Plump, exactly.

† See note above.

‡ Immense; or noteworthy, wondrous, startling; from *eminens*.

§ The pins or pegs driven into the ground to hold the tent-ropes.

|| Lat. *lanuginosus*, full of, or abounding in *lanugo* (a wool-like production, down, etc.), hence 'covered with down, downy.'—*White and Riddle*.

So great in liberalitie, az hath no way to heap up the mass of hiz trezure, but only by liberal gyuing & boounteoous bestoing^r hiz trezure: foloing (az it seemez) y^t saw of Martiall, that sayth,

*Extra fortunā est, quicquid donatur amicis
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.*

†Martial.

Oout of all hazered doest thou set that to thy freends thoou gyuest:

A surer trezure canst thoou not haue euer whyle thoou lyuest.

What may theez greatneses bode, but only az great honor, fame, & renouum for theez parts heer away, az euer waz untoo thoz too nobl Greatz: the Macedonian Alexāder in Emathia or grees, or to Romāe Charles in Germanye, or Italy? which, wear it in me ony way to set oout, no man of all men by God (Master Martin) had euer more cauz, and y^t hereby consider yoo.

It pleazed his honor to beare me good wil at fyrst, & so too continu. To haue giuē me apparail eeuen from hiz bak, to get me allowauns in y^e stabl, too aduauns me untoo this woorshipful office so neer the most honorabl Councell, to help me in my lieens of Beanz (though indeed I do not so much uze it, for I thank God I need not) to permit my good Father to serue the stabl. Whearby I go noow in my sylks, y^t else might ruffl in my eut eanues: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many times mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak myself: My good Father a good releef, that hee farez mooeh the better by, and none of theez for my dezert, eyther at first or syns: God he knoez. What say ye, my good freend Humfrey, shoold I not for euer honor, extol him all y^e weyz I ean? Yes; by your leaue while God lends me pounr to utter my mind. (And hauing az good cauz of his honor, az *Virgil* had of *Augustus Cesar*) will I poet it a littl with *Virgill*, and say,

*Namque crit ille mihi sēper Deus, illius arā
Sepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuct agnus.*

Æglog. 1.

For he shallbe a god to me, till death my life eonsumez,

Hiz auters will I saerifiee with ineens and parfumez.

A singular patron of humanitee may he be well unto us towarde all degrecz: of Honor, toward hy Estates, and ehecflye whearby we may learne in what dignitee, worship, and reuerens her highnes iz to be esteemed, honored and receiued, that waz neuer indeed more condignly doon thē heer so as neither by the bylders at first, nor by the Edict* of pacification after, was euer Kenelworth more nobled then by thiz, hiz Lordships receiuiḡ hir highnes heer now.

1266.
Edm. 6.
Rm. 3.

But Iesu Iesu whither am I drawen noow. But tallk I of my Lord onz, een thus it farez with me: I forget all, my freends, & my self too. And yet yoo, being a Mereer, a Merehant, az I am; my euntreeman born, & my good freend withal, whearby I kno ye ar eompassiond with me; Methought it my part sūwhat to empарт unto yoo, hoow it iz heer with me, & hoow I lead my life, which indeed iz this.

A mornings I rize ordinarily at seauen a klok: Then reddy, I go intoo the Chappell: soon after eyght, I get me eommonly intoo my Lords Chamber, or into my Lords prezidents, Thear at the cupboord after I haue eaten y^e manchet, serued ouer night for liuery† (for I dare be az bolld, I

* This alludes to the famous *Dictum de Kenelworth*, of which an account has been given elsewhere. p. 59.

† A loaf of fine bread served-out over-night as Laneham's *livery* or allowance. Henry VIII's Knights, and others of the King's Councell, Gentlemen of the Chamber, etc., had each in 1526, 'Everie' of them being lodged within the courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet [coarse] loafe, one *manchet*, one gallon of ale.—*Horsehold Ordinances*, p. 163.

promis yoo, az any of my freends the seruaūts thear: and indeed coold I haue fresh if I woold tary, but I am of woont iolly* & dry a mornings) I drink me up a good bol of Ale: when in a sweet pot it iz defecated by al nights† stāding, the drink iz y^e better, take that of me: & a morsell in a morning with a sound draught iz very holsome and good for the eysight. Thē I am az fresh all y^e forenoon after, az had I eaten a hole pees of beef. Noow syr, if the Councell sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch I warrant yoo If any make babling, peas (say I) woot ye whear ye ar? if I take a lystenar, or a priar in at the chinks or at y^e lokhole, I am by and by in the bones‡ of him, but now they keep good order, they kno me well inough: If a be a freend, or such a one az I lyke: I make him sit dooun by me on a foorm, or a cheast, let the rest walk a Gods name.

And heer doth my langages now and than stond me in good sted, My Frēch, my Spanish, my Dutch, & my Latten: sumtime amoong Ambassadors mē, if their Master be within with the Coūcel, sumtime with the Ambassadors himself, if hee bid call hiz lacky, or ask me whats a klok, and I warrant ye I aunswer him roundly that they maruell to see such a fello thear: thē laugh I & say nothing. Dinner & supper I haue twenty placez to go to, & hartly prayd to: And sumtime get I too Master Pinner by my faith a worshipfull Gentlman, and az carefull for hiz charge az ony hir highnez hath: thear find I alway good store of very good viaunds we cat and bee merry, thank God & the Queene. Himself in feeding very temperat & moderat az ye shall see ony; and yet, by your leaue, of a dish, az a colld pigeō or so, that hath cum to him at meat more than he lookt for, I haue seen him een so by and by surfit, az he hath pluct of hiz napkin, wyept his knife, & cat not a morsell more: lyke ynoough to stik in hiz stomake a too dayz after: (Sum hard message from the higher officers, perceiue ye me?) Upon search, hiz faithfull dealing and diligens hath found him fautles.

In afternoons & a nights, sumtime am I with the right worshipfull Sir George Howard, as good a Gentlman az ony liuez: And sumtime at my good Lady Sidneis§ chamber, a Noblwooman that I am az mooch boound untoo, as ony poore man may bee unto so gracyous a Lady: And sumtime in sum oother place. But alwayez among the Gentlwomen by my good will (O, yee kno that cum alweyez of a gentle spirite) & when I see cumpany according than can I be az lyuely to, sumtyme I foote it with daunsing: noow with my Gittern, and els with my Cittern, then at the Virgynals:¶ Ye

* Is this the first use of this slang phrase?

† John Russell and Andrew Bonde say that Ale must be 5 days old before it is drunk.—*Babees Book*, p. 128, 208. Before it was hopt, it had to be brewed fresh and fresh, and must have been all the better for standing. See Miss Strickland's *Elizabeth*, 6 vol., p. 449, ed. 1844.—The ale at Grafton(?) was so strong as there was no man able to drink it; you had been as good to have drank Malmsey; and yet was it laid in aboue 3 days before her Majesty came.—*Leicester's Letter to Burleigh*. In 1557 at Castle Combe, Wiltshire, Best ale 'under the hair sieve' was at 3d. per gallon; but if stale it was at 4d. Second ale 1½d.; but when stale 2d.—*G. Roberts*.

‡ Give him a good dig in the ribs.

§ Mary, the sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wife of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. Their son, Robert Sydney, was created Baron Sydney of Penshurst, in Kent, 13th May, 1603; created Viscount L'Isle, May 4, 1605; and on 2 August, 1618, Earl of Leicester.—*Nicholas's Peerage*, ii. 630.

¶ The musical instruments principally in use in barbers' shops, during the 16th and 17th centuries, were the *cittern*, the *gittern*, the lute, and the *virginals*. Of these the *cittern* . . was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the last century, but had only four double strings of *wire*, *i. e.* two to each note . . . The peculiarity of the cittern, or cithren, was that the third string was tuned lower than the fourth, so that if the first or highest string was tuned to *c*, the third would be the *g* below, and the fourth the *intermediate b* . . The *gittern* . . Ritson says, differed chiefly from the cittern in being strung with *gut* instead of wire . . In the

kno nothing cums amisse to me: then carroll I up a song withall: that by and by they com flocking about me lyke beez too hunny:† and euer they cry, anoother good Langham anoother. Shall I tell yoo? when I see Misterz ——— (A, see a madde knaue, I had almost tollde all) that shee gyuez onz but an ey or an ear: why then, man, am I blest, my grace, my corage, my cunning iz doobled: She sayz sumtime she likez it; & then I like it mooch the better, it dooth me good to heer hoow well I can doo. And too say truth: what, with myne eyz, az I can amorously gloit† it, with my spanish sospires,‡ my French heighes, mine Italian dulcets, my dutch houez my doobl releas, my hy reachez, my fine feyning, my deep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tyming, my tuning and my twynking, I can gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them, and waz yet neuer staynd I thank God. By my troth cuntreman it iz sumtim hy midnight ear I cā get from them. And thus haue I told ye most of my trade, all the leeue long daye: what will ye more, God saue the Queene, and my Lord, I am well I thank yoo.

Up sun
hour.

Heerwith ment I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this doubt cum to my minde, that heer remainz a doout in yoo, which I ought (me thought) in any wyze to cleer. Which iz, ye maruel perchauns to see me so bookish. Let me tell yoo, in few woords: I went to scool forsooth both at Pollez, & allso at saint Antoniez: in the fifth foorm, past Esop fabls iwys, red Terens *Vos istec intro auferte*, & began with my Virgill, *Tytire tu patulæ*. I coold my rulez coold conster & pars with the best of them, syns that az partly ye kno, haue I traded the feat of marchaundize in sundry Cuntreyz, & so gat me Langagez: which do so littl hinder my Latten, az (I thank God) haue mooch encreast it. I haue leizure sumtime, when I tend not upon the coounsell: whearby, now look I on one booke, now on an other. Stories I delight in the more auncient & rare, the more likesum untoo me: If I tollde ye, I lyked William a Malmesbery so well, bicauz of hiz diligenz & antiquitee: Perchaunz ye woold conster it bicauz I loue Mamzey so well: but I feith it iz not so: for sipt I no more Sak & suger (& yet neuer but with cōpany) thē I doo Malmzey, I should not blush so moch a dayz az I doo, ye kno my minde.

catalogue of musical instruments left in the charge of Philip von Wilder at the death of Henry VIII., we find "four *gitterons*, which are called Spanish vialles." . . the old play of "*Lingua*" . . has

'Tis true the finding of a dead horse-head
was the first invention of *string* instruments,
Whence rose the *Gittern*, Viol, and the Lute.

Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. v., p. 493 . . .

The *virginals* (probably so called because chiefly played upon by young girls) resembled in shape the 'square' pianoforte of the present day, as the harpsichord did the 'grand.' The sound of the pianoforte is produced by a hammer *striking* the strings; but when the keys of the virginal or harpsichord were pressed, the *jacks* (slender pieces of wood, armed at the upper end with quills, were raised to the strings, they acted as *plectra*, by impinging, or twitching them.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, vol. 1, p. 102-4. See also p. 35, 98, 248, 764, etc.

* Compare Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture* in the *Babes Book*, p. 85.

A plyaunt seruaunt gets fauour to his great aduantage;
Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee, easilier to lyue in age.
I se lowest pastyme, talke or synge or some instrument vse:
Though they be thy betters, to heare they will thee not refuse. (l. 129-36).

And as to the 'Gentlewomen' above, compare Rhodes's further directions, p. 86.

For your preferment resorte to such as may you vauntage;
Among Gentlemen for their rewards; to honest daunces for maryage . . .
Honest quallities and gentle, many men doth aduance
To good maryages, trust me, and their names doth inhaunce. (l. 141-52.)

† *Gloit*, glout, to look askew; or gloat, to look tenderly.

‡ Laneham gives in this passage a specimen of making love in the various languages in which he was skilled. *Suspiro*, in the Spanish tongue, signifies a very deep sigh; *Hé*, in the French, expresses the emotions of the soul in love; *Dolce*, in Italian, means dear or beloved; and in Dutch, *Hoofshied* is the word for courtship.

Well noow thus fare ye hartily well yfeith, if with wishīg it coold haue been, ye had had a buk or too this soomer, but we shal cum neerer shortly, & then shal we merely meet & grace a God, in the mean time commād me I besek yo: unto my good freends, almost most of thē your neighbors. Master Alderman Pullison,* a speciall freende of mine: and in ony wise too my good old freend Master Smith, Custumer, by that same token. Set my hors up too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak. He knoez the token well ynough, & wil laugh, I hold ye a grote. Too Master Thorogood: And too my mery cumpanion (a Mercer ye wot az we be) Master Denman, *Mio fratello in Christo*: he iz woont too summon me by the name of Ro. La. of the Coounty Nosingham Gentlman, A good companiō I feyth. Well ones again fare ye hartely well. From the Coourt. At the Citce of Worceter, the xx of August 1575.

Yor countreeman, companion, & freend assuredly: Mercer, Merchauntaenturer, and Clark of the Councel chamber door, and also keeper of the same: *El Prēncipe negro*.
Par me R. L. Gent Mercer.

DE MAIESTATE REGIA

Benigno.

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ,†
Iactanter Cicero, at iastius illud habe:
Cedāt arma togæ, vigil et toga ccdat, honori,
Omnia concedant Imperioq' suo.

DEO OPT. MAX. GRATIÆ.

* Lord Mayor 1584 (Sir Thomas).

† The Gown before the Arms of War!
The Tongue before the Bay!
Quoth Tully boasting; but truer far
Hold this, The Gown before the Arms of War!
Natheless, give room, respective Gown!
Yea all to her bow down
From whom is all their Precedence and Sway!



APPENDIX II.

MR. FURNIVAL'S FOREWORDS.

WHEN turning from the England of 1303, from Arthurian Legends and the Holy Grail, from Poems on the Virgin and Christ, to the later Ballads of the Percy Folio, I was faced at every turn by CAPTAIN COX. 'This was in Captain Cox's Library; this wasn't in Captain Cox's list; Captain Cox didn't mention the other:' nothing could be settled without reference to Captain Cox. Either having forgotten this famous man, or never having heard of him before, when I evidently ought to have known his name as well as Shakspeare's, I felt extremely humbled at my ignorance; I at once looked him out in the British Museum Catalogue, and several Biographical Dictionaries, but could find nothing about him. At last I was obliged to submit to the further humiliation of asking (with many apologies) a ballad-loving friend, who this Captain Cox was. My friend referred me to *Lancham's Letter*; and there the great Captain stood revealed to me. The foremost figure in English Story-book and Ballad history the valiant Coventry mason is; and in so bright a picture of merry outofdoor Elizabethan life is he set in *Lancham's Letter*, that on starting the Ballad Society, I resolved to re-edit the Letter, with Captain Cox's name at the head of it, in order, if possible, to bring him into more prominence.

Though we must admit that the Captain was not the first person in Lancham's mind when he wrote his letter, still, it is for the lists of Captain Cox's story-books and ballads that reference has, in our days, been most frequently made to the tract. Walter Scott's 'Kenilworth' revived interest in it for the last generation, and led to its reprint then; Mr. George Adler's 'Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester' has led to its reprint now, since my own was in type. Still, the merit of the Letter is great enough to justify its reproduction by any number of people or societies, each from his or its own point of view, and with comments accordingly.

The Letter is written by one London mercer, Robert Lancham, to another, Master Humphrey Martin, and describes the visit of Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, and Lancham's patron, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle for nineteen days, from Saturday the 9th to Wednesday the 27th of July, 1575. The castle itself, its grounds and appointments, the pageants presented before the Queen, as well as an ancient minstrel with a solemn song, prepared for her, but not shown to her (pp. 36-42), are all described by Lancham with great gusto; but he has unluckily left out the last week of the fun, as he took such slender notes of what went on (p. 103).

Lancham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap. He tells us his history; that he went to school both at St. Paul's (Colet's school) and St. Anthony's (where Whitgift was), was in the fifth form, got through Æsop's Fables, read Terence, and began Virgil, then served Master Bomsted a Mercer in London, then traded in sundry countries—among others, 'in Frauns and Flaunders long and many

a day'—and so gat languages, which helpt his Latin. Leicester took him up,—for his ready tongue and merry ways, no doubt, as well as his knowledge of 'Langagez,'—gave him apparel, even from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, got him made Doorkeeper of the Council Chamber; helpt him in his license to import beans duty free, and let his father 'serve the stable,'—that is, as I suppose, supply it with grain and fodder—so that our worthy says "I go noow in my sylks, that els might ruffl in my cut canves [or poor men's clothes]: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many timest mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self."

Laneham tells us besides how he spent his days at Kenilworth; and in this account the full character of the man comes out in a most amusing way. The reader should turn at once to the passages, and enjoy them: the "jolly & dry a mornings," the being "by & by in the bones of" any listener, or prier, the seating his friends, but "let the rest walk, a Gods name;" his airing his languages before the foreigners, being, "in afternoons & a nights . . . alwayez among the Gentlwemen," showing off before company, dancing, playing, singing, making eyes and sighs at Mistress —, whose name he won't tell, being able to "gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them," give us the very man. "Stories I delight in," says he, Music he loves: "take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham; and grace a God! A! muzik is a noble Art!" His patron Leicester was perfection in his eyes, and Kenilworth nearly Paradise. He enjoyed the beautiful country round him, revelled in all the show and bustle about him, delighted in the conceits of the pageants, rejoiced in the stag-hunts, thought the bear-baiting fine sport, threw himself into the rough fun of the country bride-ale and Coventry play, quizzed the performers, took off the old minstrel, drank lots of good ale and wine, eat to his fill; and in the best of spirits with everything about him, and especially with himself, the excellent Robert Laneham, gent., wrote this *Letter* about the whole affair to his friend Master Martin, one of the jovial set they both belonged to in London.

No doubt if there'd been a Superfine Review in his day, it would have called him a coxcomb, reproved him for his vulgarity, and perchance written an article on his "females," as its present representative has on our workingmen's wives and daughters in their holiday-excursions. For my part, I am content to take Robert Laneham and enjoy him as he is; and I only wish that twenty others like him had left us such genuine pictures of the country life and sports of Elizabeth's time. As for his writing so much about himself, I only wish my contemporaries would follow his example, and believe that posterity will enjoy what they write, as much as we do like bits in the writings of our predecessors. Let men *be themselves* in their writings, and let critics, and "un-unsuited-to-the-dignity-of-print," etcetera, be blowed!

But where is CAPTAIN COX all this while? Well, we're coming to him soon.

The Queen* arrived at Kenilworth Castle on Saturday, the 9th of July, 1575. On her first Sunday, the forenoon was spent in "divine seruis & preaching at the parish church," while in the afternoon—the place not being a People's Park, and there being no Mr. Ayrton to stop the bands playing dance-music, for fear her Majesty's scruples should be offended—"excellent music of sundry swet instruments" was played, and "dancing of Lords and Ladiez, and oother worshipfull degrees" went on. The second Sunday, July 17, 1575, was St. Kenelm's day,—the saint and king who built† part of the Castle, and after whom it was called;—and advantage was taken of this anniversary to show the Queen some of

* I have already apologized for a few alterations and omissions in this reprint. E. H. K.

† That is, was said to have built.

the characteristic sports of the country, including especially the old historical Hock-Tuesday play of the men of Coventry—a town so famous for its Mysteries—commemorating the massacre of the Danes on Nov. 13, 1002, or June 8, 1042. In this latter, CAPTAIN COX appears. I therefore refer the reader to Laneham's tract, for a description of the acting of the Bride-ale—with our author's quizzical description of the performers, bridegroom, morris-dance, bridesmaids, cupbearer, bride, running at the Quintain, and general shindy following.—and proceed to reprint here the account of Captain Cox, giving a separate half-line and number to each of his tracts, etc.; then, with the help of Mr. Halliwell, Mr. Hazlitt,* Mr. Wm. Chappell, etc., I shall comment on the Captain's list of Story-Books and Ballads, describing each, so far as I can, in order to give my readers a view of the literature on which the reading members of the English middle-class in Elizabeth's time were brought up; and lastly, I shall contrast Captain Cox's with that of the books, ballads, and tunes known in Scotland in 1548 to the writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, adding also a few comments on this latter list, by the help of Leyden, etc. Here then is CAPTAIN COX:—

Captain Cox. But aware, kéepe bak, make room noow, heer they cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword hangs at his tablz éend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for

- I. King Arthurz book.
- II. Huon of Burdeaus.
- III. The foour suns of Aymon.
- IV. Beuys of Hampton.
- V. The squyre of lo degré.
- VI. The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell.
- VII. Frederik of Gene.
- VIII. Syr Eglamoour.
- IX. Sir Tryamoour.
- X. Sir Lamwell.
- XI. Syr Isenbras.
- XII. Syr Gawyn.
- XIII. Olyuer of the Castl.
- XIV. Lucres and Eurialus.
- XV. Virgils life.
- XVI. The castle of Ladiez.
- XVII. The wido Edyth.

- XVIII. The King & the Tanner.
- XIX. Frier Rous.
- XX. Howleglas.
- XXI. Gargantua.
- XXII. Robinhood.
- XXIII. Adambel, Clim of the clough, & William of cloudeley.
- XXIV. The Churl & the Burd.
- XXV. The seauen wise Masters.
- XXVI. The wife lapt in a Morels skin.
- XXVII. The sak full of nuez.
- XXVIII. The seargeaunt that became a Fryar.
- XXIX. Skogan.
- XXX. Collyn cloout.
- XXXI. The Fryar & the boy.
- XXXII. Elynor Rumming.
- XXXIII. The Nutbrooun maid.

With many moe then I rehearz héere: I beléeue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy both morall and naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty of hiz books: whear-of part az I remember,

- XXXIV. The Sheperdz kalender.
- XXXV. The Ship of Foolz.
- XXXVI. Danielz dreamz.
- XXXVII. The booke of Fortune.
- XXXVIII. '*Stans puer ad mensam.*'
- XXXIX. The hy wey to the Spithouse.
- XL. Iulian of Brainfords testament.

- XLI. The castle of Louc.
- XLII. The booget of Demaunds.
- XLIII. The hundred Mery talez.
- XLIV. The book of Riddels.
- XLV. The Seauen sororz of women.
- XLVI. The prooud wiues Pater noster.
- XLVII. The Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit.

Beside hiz auncient playz,

- XLVIII. Yooth & charitee.
- XLIX. Hikskorner.

- L. Nugize.
- LI. Impacient pouerty.

And héerwith,

- LII. Doctor Boords breuiary of health.

* The information as to old editions is nearly all taken from Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: As

LIII. Broom broom on hil.
 LIV. So wo iz me begon, troly lo.
 LV. Ouer a whinny Meg.
 LVI. Hey ding a ding.

LVII. Bony lass vpon a gréen.
 LVIII. My bony on gaue me a bek.
 LIX. By a bank az I lay.

and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And az for Almanaks of antiquité (a point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from (LX) Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto (LXI) Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto oour (LXII) John Securiz of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for thóez sciencez, and az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz. in the field a good Marshall at musters: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béeen chozen Alecumer many a yéere, when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate, his iudgment will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboue the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding had lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and anothers fensmaster with him: thus in the foreward making room for the rest.

Of this happy custom of giving lists of the story-books known to the writer of a later book, we have plenty of early instances in English. The *Cursur o Worlde*, or *Cursor Mundi*, many Romances, Robert of Brunne, Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, practised it before Laneham. The latest list before Laneham that I have seen, is given by Mr. J. P. Collier—with what accuracy I am unable to judge—in his *Bibliographical Account*, i. 327, from ‘A Briefe and necessary Instruction,’ etc., by E. D., 8vo, 1572: (I italicize the books that are also in Captain Cox’s list:)

Bevis of Hampton, *Guy of Warwicke*, *Arthur of the round table*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Oliver of the Castle*, *the foure sonnes of Amond*, *the wittles devices of Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, *Esop*, *Robyn Hoode*, *Adam Bell*, *Frier Rushe*, *the Fooles of Gotham*, and a thousand such other.

Among the ‘such other’ are mentioned ‘tales of Robyn Goodfellow,’ ‘Songes and Sonets,’ ‘Pallaces of Pleasure,’ ‘unchast fables and Tragedies, and such like Sorceries,’ ‘The Courte of Venus,’ ‘*The Castle of Love*.’

In passing, we may note the extraordinary omission by Laneham of ‘Guy of Warwick’ in Capt. Cox’s list, as it is incredible that a Warwickshire collector like the Captain should not have had it. The fact lends colour to the supposition that the list is as much one of Laneham’s own books as Capt. Cox’s.

The next list to Laneham’s that I know, is given in a book, the first edition of which is dated 1579. In the second edition of this in 1586, *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, Vincent, the country-gentleman, says how they amuse themselves ‘in fowle weather’ at dice, cards, and games, and

“Wee want not also pleasant mad-headed knaues that be properly learned, and will reade in diuerse pleasant bookes and good Authors: as Sir Guy of Warwicke, the *foure Sonne of Amon*, the *Ship of Fooles*, the *Budget of Demaunds*, the *Hundreth merry Tales*, the *Booke of Ryddles*, and many other excellent writers both witty and pleasaunt.” p. 57, ed. 1868, *Roxburghe Library*.

If we turn now to the list of the Scotch writer of the *Complayant of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., we at once find a great change. Only two of Captain Cox’s stories are in the Scotch list, namely ‘The Four Sons of Aymon,’ and ‘Bevis of Hampton,’ though the *Complayant* matches Captain Cox’s I., Arthurz book, and XII., Sir Gawyn, by its (23) Arthur story or tale in rime (19) Gauen and Gollogras, (16) Syr Euan (Ywain) and (20) Lancelot du Lac; and Captain Cox’s XXII., Robin Hood, by its (29) Robene Hude and Litol Ihone, and its dance-tune of (91) Robene Hude. Still, of the Scotchman’s 46 stories, at least twelve are known to us as English ones, as will be noted below. Another marked difference between the lists of the two countries is, the very great number of classical or semi-classical

stories in the Scotch list, ten,—(11) Hercules and the Hydra, (37) Actæon, (38) Pyramus and Thisbe, (39) Leander and Hero, (40) Jupiter and Io, (41) Jason and the Golden Fleece, (43) The Golden Apple, (44) The 3 Weird Sisters [*Parcæ* or Fates], (45) Dædalus and the Minotaur, (46) Midas and his ass-ears,—as against Captain Cox's none, for we can hardly call the middle-age necromancer of XV., Virgil's Life, classical, though he may have originated in the poet Virgil. This contrast means, I take it, not that Scotch shepherds or merchants knew more classics, or cared more for them, than our Coventry mason, or Robert Laneham, but that the writer of the *Complaynt*, was a far more 'bookish' man—he's brimfull of classics—than Laneham, our London mercer.

Let us now take Captain Cox's (or Laneham's) books separately, and describe shortly such of them as are accessible in the British Museum, etc.

I. *King Arthurs book*. This is Sir Thomas Maleore's or Malory's well-known *Morte Darthur*, or abstract of the several prose French Romances of *Merlin*,—in its two states, shown by Mr. Henry Huth's unique version* containing the book of Balin and Balan, and by the ordinary version, of which Mr. H. B. Wheatley has edited an early English prose translation for the Early English Text Society from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library, ab. 1400 A.D.—*Les Prophécies de Merlin, Lancelot del Lac, Tristan, Queste del Saint-Graal, Morte d'Arthur*, etc. Sir T. Malcore finished his work in the 9th year of king Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1469, and Caxton printed the first edition of it in 1485. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted Caxton's edition, with a few variations,—on which see Sir Ed. Strachey's modernized and expurgated edition, for Macmillan's Globe Series in 1868, p. xvi.—in 1498, and again in 1529. Then Wyllyam Copland reprinted it again in 1557, at his predecessor Robert's old shop, at the sign of the Rose Garlande in Fleet Street; and these are all the editions that we know before Laneham's date. So scarce have these early editions become, that we know of only 2 imperfect copies of the Caxton, (Lord Jersey's has no title; Lord Spencer's has 11 leaves in facsimile, not from Caxton's edition); one imperfect of each of the Wynkyn de Wordes (1498, Lord Spencer; 1529, Grenville collection in the British Museum). Of the Copland, Mr. Halliwell—seemingly quoting a copy of his own—says that it is entitled "The Hystorye of the moost noble and worthy prynce Kynge Arthur," while Mr. Hazlitt gives the first words of the title as "The story of the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur," and says that copies are in the British Museum (King's books), and the Pepysian Library at the Magdalen College, Cambridge (with no title page) and elsewhere; and that it's printed in double columns with woodcuts.

Maleore's and Tennyson's conceptions of Arthur differ widely. Our Victorian poet makes him a sinless king,—a type of Christ,—whose work is marred by the guilt of his wife and his friends. Malcore, on the other hand, makes Arthur what a Norman knight, a Keltic chieftain, would certainly have been, a gratifier of his own lust; he sins, not only with Lionors, but with his own sister Margawse, King Lot's wife, and the son of his incest works his father's death. The prophecy of Merlin on Arthur's committing his crime is fulfilled; and for his own sin the Flower of Kings withers and dies. The Fate is on him from his youth; and over all his glory hangs ever the dark cloud of unatoned-for sin.

II. *Huon of Burdeaux*. This is a translation, by the famous Sir Johan Bouchier, Lord Berners,—whose englishings of Froissart's Chronicle and the Romance of Arthur of Little Britain, are so well known—of 'a long, heavy French Romance,' says Mr. Halliwell (*Pop. Tracts*, p. 6); but that is matter of opinion, as Mr. Dunlop speaks of its "singularity and beauty,"—see also page xix—and Lord Berners wasn't a fool. The first edition is supposed to have been printed about 1535 by Robert

* It is still in MS., though copied for printing.

Redborne, says Hazlitt's *Handbook*; by Pynson, say Mr. Corser and Messrs. Sotheby. The only copy known was Dr. Bliss's, afterwards Mr. Corser's, at whose sale in 1869, 'wanting title and 2 leaves at end, supposed to be printed by Pynson,' it fetched £81. An edition by Thomas Purfoot in 1601 says that it is 'now the third time imprinted.' The second edition is perhaps that mentioned by Mr. Halliwell at p. 6-7 of his *Popular Tracts*: "I have recently seen an imperfect copy of an ancient edition of this translation, printed in folio, in double columns, and illustrated with rude woodcuts, certainly printed before Shakespeare could have commenced writing for the stage, and in all probability not long after the year 1560." The translation was made by Lord Berners at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, and extracts from it are given in Halliwell's "Illustrations of Fairy Mythology," Shakesp. Soc. 1845. "Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this old romance."

The story of it is told in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, ed. 1845, p. 123, col. 1; and the 'incidents in the *Oberon*, of Wieland' (which Mr. Sotheby translated) 'are nearly the same with those in the old French romance.'

Charlemagne's son, Charlot, waylays Huon, and is slain by him. Huon can only get pardon by going to the Emir Gaudisse of Bagdad, and at table cutting off the head of the bashaw on his right, kissing his daughter 3 times, and bringing a lock of the Emir's white beard, and 4 of his best grinders, to Charlemagne. Huon sets out, goes to the Holy Sepulchre, and then the coast of the Red Sea, whence a naked old French escaped slave, Gerasmes, takes him through Oberon's forest, towards Bagdad. Oberon, a lovely child of 4 years old, and the son of Julius Cæsar (as he says) gives Huon a magic goblet and horn, and afterwards rescues him, in Tourmont, from his traitorous renegade uncle. Huon then kills the giant Angoulaffre, reaches Bagdad, cuts off the head of the lover of Esclarmonde, the Emir's daughter, kisses her 3 times, and asks the Emir for a lock of his beard and his 4 grinders. The Emir has Huon chained and cast into prison; but Esclarmonde visits him, turns Christian, and offers to kill her father. But Huon is set free to conquer the brother of the giant Angoulaffre, which he does, and then asks the Emir to be baptized. The Emir orders Huon to be seized; but his magic horn summons Oberon; the Emir's head is struck off, and the lock of his beard and 4 grinders are soon Huon's. Huon then sails for Italy with treasure and Esclarmonde; but Oberon threatens him with dire punishments if he do not respect the honour of Esclarmonde before he marries her. Huon fails and is shipwrecked; fails again, and has Esclarmonde carried away from him to King Yvoirin's seraglio. To that king's court, by the help of Malebron, one of Oberon's spirits, Huon gets, and there defeats Yvoirin's enemy Galafre. Afterwards, uniting with Gerasmes, who was then Galafre's champion, Huon frees Esclarmonde, sails to Italy, and weds her in Rome. He then sets out for Charlemagne's court, but is betrayed and sent there in chains by his brother Girart. Falsely accused, he is condemned and led to the stake; but Oberon rescues him, has Girart killed, and invites Huon and Esclarmonde to visit him in his fairy land. Here the original story ends. The continuation adds: Huon having cut off the head of the son of Thierry, emperor of Germany, is invaded by that potentate, in Guienne. He sails for Asia to get help from Esclarmonde's brother, and while he is absent, his wife is captured, and Gerasmes slain. On his voyage, Huon's ship is carried into a whirlpool, where he sees Judas Iscariot swimming and lamenting. The ship afterwards strikes on a rock of adamant, whereon the Lady of the Hidden Isle has built a glorious palace to hide her lover Julius Cæsar from the fury of three kings of Egypt. After a long stay here, Huon leaves on the back of a griffin, and is set down on a mountain where he finds the Fountain of Youth—wherein he bathes,—and its apple-tree, 3 of whose youth-giving apples he is let pluck. Then he is borne in a boat down a stream through a subterranean canal, where he gathers magic stones, to the Persian Gulf; and he lands at Tauris. He wins the favour of the

Sultan by the gift of one of his magic apples, and gets an army to free Esclarmonde. Landing at the desert isle of Abillaut, he sees Cain going round the top of a mountain in a cask full of serpents and spikes, and has a ride in the boat of the evil spirits who made the cask. Huon then visits Jerusalem, and makes war on the Sultan of Egypt: then lands at Marseilles, sends off his fleet, gives his 2nd youth-apple to his uncle, the Abbot of Clugny; and with the third gets back his wife from Emperor Thiery. Huon and Esclarmonde return to their own land of Guienne, and then visit Oberon in his enchanted forest, who installs Huon "in the empire of Faëry," and expires shortly after. The remainder of the romance, or rather fairy-tale, contains an account of the reign of Huon, and his dispute with Arthur, (who had hoped for the appointment) as to the sovereignty of Fairy-land; and also the adventures of the Duchess Clairette, the daughter of Huon and Esclarmonde, from whom was descended the illustrious family of Capet.

"There are few romances of chivalry which possess more beauty and interest than Huon of Bordeaux: the story, however, is too long protracted, and the first part seems to have exhausted the author's stores of imagination. Huon is a more interesting character than most of the knights of Charlemagne. . . . The subordinate characters in the work are also happily drawn." (Dunlop Hist. of Fiction, p. 129.) . . ."

III. *The Four Sons of Aymon*. This is a translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle.

Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1554, now in Bridgewater House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504:

Here finissheth the hystory of the noble and valiaunt Knyght, Reynawde of Mountawban, and his three brethren. Imprinted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, the viii. day of Maye, and y^e yere of our lorde MCCCC IIII. at the request and commaundement of the noble and puissant erle, the Erle of Oxenforde, and now Imprinted in the yere of our Lorde, M. ccccliii, the vi daye of Maye, by Wylliam Copland dwellyng in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garland for John Waley. *Bridgewater House*. Hazlitt (from Collier?).

The *Chansons de Geste* of the "Quatre Fils Aimon" consist of two parts, 1. that of the four Sons proper, called by the name of the chief of them "Renaud de Montauban," and which is the English romance; and 2. that of their magician cousin "Maugis d'Aigremont." These chansons are bound up with that of Girart de Roussillon, who is the protector of his brothers, Duke Beuve of Aigremont, Eude, Odon or Doon of Nanteuil, and the Aime or Aimon of Dordone or Dordon.

The oldest text of the Chanson de Geste of the Quatre Fils d'Aimon is, says M. Paulin Paris (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, xxii. 412), of the end of the 12th century, a recast of an older poem, and tells the following story, which I abridge from M. Paris's analysis of the MSS.

At his court in Paris, Charlemagne notices, that not only is the dispossessed Duke Doon of Nanteuil absent, but also Duke Beuve of Aigremont. This angers Charlemagne, and he declares he'll level Aigremont, castle and city, unless Beuve does homage at court. Aimon takes his brother's part, and Charlemagne sends, first, a messenger, and then his son Lohier, or Lothair, to order Beuve to appear. Beuve answers the insulting mandates by killing both messenger and Lothair, and many of their men. Charlemagne invades Beuve, and makes him beg for pardon. This is granted, but afterwards, with Charlemagne's sanction, Beuve is entrapped and slain.

Aimon then brings his Four Sons, Renaud, Alard, Richard, and Guichard, to the court of Charlemagne, who likes and knights them, and gives Renaud the magic horse Bayard. Bertholais, Charlemagne's nephew, insults Renaud at a game of chess, in return for which, Renaud smashes his skull with

the chess-board. The Four Sons are attacked, but make a victorious retreat, though their father Aimon is obliged to disown them, and to swear that he'll give them up. The Sons retire to the forest of Ardennes; there build a castle, and live hidden 7 years. Then Charlemagne finds them out, besieges and starves them out, and demands the youngest brother Guichard, for his own slain son Lothair. Renaud refuses this; the Four escape, and live in woods, half-starving, for 7 years; all Four Sons having to ride on Bayard, whom three of them at last propose to eat. Renaud refuses, and they go to their father's castle. So changed are they by their hard life, that their mother doesn't at first know them. Their father won't own them, and denounces them, though he orders them to be supplied with all they want. Accompanied by their magician cousin Maugis d'Aigremont, they set out for Spain, defeat a Saracen king for Yon, king of Gascony, build the castle of Montauban, and Renaud marries Yon's sister. Then Charlemagne demands of Yon the Four Sons, though in vain; and Roland—he of Ronceval, Charlemagne's nephew—comes to his court. Roland, as his first exploit, defeats the Saxons who're besieging Cologne, and takes their chief, Escorfan. For this, Charlemagne wants to give him a worthy steed, even Bayard. To get the horse, and Renaud his owner, the Emperor adopts Naime's treacherous scheme of proclaiming a race with rich prizes. To the race accordingly come Bayard,—turned from brown to white by Maugis's art,—and Renaud, also made to look like a youth of 15. They win the prize, defy Charlemagne, and retire to Montalban. There, say the continuers of the story in the 15th century (*Paris*, p. 430), the Emperor besieges the Four Sons; Yon betrays them; Roland takes Montalban; Maugis gives up magic, and retires to a hermitage; and the Four Sons fly to Dordon. There, again besieged, they make peace, and give up Bayard. Renaud goes to Jerusalem, and he and Maugis rout the Pagan army. Then Renaud's wife dies; he sends his 2 boys to Charlemagne's court; and himself goes as a beggar to Cologne. There he asks for work at St. Peter's Church, and the other workmen, in their jealousy, throw him off the highest tower. As for Bayard, Charlemagne basely has him thrown off the bridge at Liege into the Meuse, with a stone round his neck, and his legs tied together. But the noble steed rises, frees himself, and gains the forest of Ardennes, where, in the 15th century, he still was.

The reader who cares for these things should read M. Paris's interesting comments on this story and the whole cycle, and must excuse me from referring to Caxton's version of it. M. Delvau's account of it in modern French is in his *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie*, Paris, 1869, i. 97, or *Bibliothèque Bleue*, 1849. The late French prose romance, and the English translation of it, no doubt differ in details from the earlier *Chansons de Geste*.

IV. *Bcuys of Hampton*. The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a 'Frensche boke,' is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D., and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, etc. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, 'a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books.' Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Editions were licensed to Thomas Marshe in 1558 (*Stationer's First Register*, leaf 31*), to John Tysdayle in 1560-1 (*ib.* leaf 62 back), and to John Alde in 1568-9 (*ib.* leaf 179);—see Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 16, 38, 200;—but none of these editions are now known. If they were printed, the book must have been the most popular of those we have yet dealt with in Captain Cox's library. The story it tells is sketched by Ellis in his *Early English Metrical Romances*, from the Caius MS. and Pynson's copy. A king of Scotland's

* I have verified the references.

daughter is wife to the old Sir Gij or Guy of South Hamtoun. Unfaithful to him, she sends to Sir Murdour to kill her husband and marry her; which, by her treachery, he does; and then she orders her 7-year old son, Bevis, to be murdered, and as that fails, to be sold as a slave and sent into heathendom. At the court of the Saracen Ermyn, he kills, when 15 years old, 60 knights, and then a monstrous boar, and 9 foresters. Being knighted, mounted on his steed Arundel, and armed with his sword Morglay, he leads Ermyn's small army against the large force of Bradmond, king of Damascus, who has demanded Ermyn's daughter, Josyan. He kills Bradmond's giant Radyson, unhorses and defeats Bradmond, and then induces Josyan to promise to deny her faith and marry him. For this he is sent treacherously to Bradmond, who casts him into a dungeon in Damascus with 2 dragons. These Bevis slays; and after 7 years' imprisonment his chain breaks by a miracle, and he escapes. Killing his foremost pursuer, and then his gigantic brother, Bevis goes to Jerusalem, and thence to Mounbraunt, from the king of which country, Inor, he carries off his love Josyan, who had married Inor, but had remained a maiden. After killing two lions, a giant, and a most terrible dragon, and rescuing Josyan from the people who are about to burn her for hanging Earl Mile who had carried her off, Bevis has Sir Murdour, his father's murderer, thrown into a boiling caldron, while his mother, Murdour's wife, casts herself headlong from a tower. Bevis then recovers his father's Earldom of Southampton, but soon has to give it up—because his horse Arundel has killed king Edgar's son, who wanted to steal it,—and goes abroad. Josyan and her two babies are carried off from him for 7 years, but at length rejoin him, and he defends his father-in-law king Ermyn against Inor. His son Guy is made king of Ermyn's land, and he (Bevis) kills Inor and all his army, and becomes king of Mounbraunt. Thence he returns to England to restore his cousin Robert to his estates. He encamps at Putney, slays the king's steward, and (with his sons) has a fierce long fight in London, in which 60,000 men are slain; their blood runs down to Temple-Bar, and turns the Thames red. The result of this is, that king Edgar marries his daughter to Bevis's son, Sir Mile, who is crowned king of England, while Bevis and Josyan return to Mounbraunt, where they and their steed Arundel all die together.

V. *The Squire of Lo Degre* (or "Undo your Dore"). A poem pretty enough to have justified many more editions than the only early ones that have reached us, namely two; 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, of which 4 leaves only are known; 2. Wyllyam Copland's, of which a unique copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. (The latter has been reprinted by Ritson in vol. iii. of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. p. 21-64, 1866). 3. An edition, not now known, was licensed to John Kynge on June 10, 1560; and as two other of Captain Cox's books were licensed with it, I copy the entry from leaf 48 of the Stationers' First Register, (it's also in *Collier*, i. 26) putting in some stops:

Receyvd of John Kynge, for his Lychense for pryntinge of these Copyes: Lucas vrialis,* nyce wanton / }
 impaciens poverte / The proude wyves pater noster / The squire of Low degre / and syr deggre: } ijs.
 graunted y^e x of June a^o 1560

The story told in 1132 lines is one of the best and most popular of our early tales, and was no doubt known to Shakspeare; "You called me yesterday mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day a *squire of low degre*." Fluellin in *Henry V.*, act 5, sc. 1. The poor Squire and Marshal of the King of Hungary loves that King's daughter for 7 years in silence. At length his love finds voice, and he finds it is returned; but his Princess bids him go abroad for 7 years, and earn fame in fight, then visit the holy city Jerusalem, and come back to wed her. She gives him money and arms, and the Squire starts, but, returning to take leave of her, is caught at her door by the King's treacherous Steward with a band of

* Lucres and Euryalus. See below, p. xxxviii, No. XIV.

men. The Squire kills 7 men and the Steward, but is taken, and put in prison by the King's orders. The Steward's corpse, dressed in the Squire's clothes, is set against the Princess's door, and his face so hacked, that she thinks the body is the Squire's. She embalms it, and for seven years daily mourns over it. Then, unknown to her, the King frees the Squire, and sends him abroad to gain fame, and see the Holy Land, during 7 years more. This he does, his love still keeping his supposed corpse by her, and daily mourning over it. The King tempts her with all kinds of pleasure; but she, faithful ever, will have none of them. At last, when the Squire has, like Jacob for his Rachel, served twice 7 years, the King brings the living lover to his daughter; and the Squire of Low Degree is King, and with his Queen leads his life thenceforth in joy and bliss.

As bright as spring, and as tender as evening light, is the old story in its different parts; and besides, it is interesting for its many details of old-world life, its list of trees (l. 29-41), of birds (l. 45-60), of the parts of a knight's armour, (l. 203-230), how he is to win renown, etc., and specially the King's description of the pleasures, dress, room and pursuits of his daughter (l. 711-852). There is a poor, much-shortened, version of it in the Percy Folio *Ballads and Romances*, iii. 263, containing only 170 lines, against the 1132 of the original, as we must call Copland's late version of an earlier original, which it has evidently altered in many words and left out several lines of:—see l. 625-7, and compare the story of *Lybius Disconius*.

VI. *The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell*. The only edition known is by Wyllyam Copland, not dated, but probably before 1557, as there is no notice of it in the Stationers' First Register. A unique copy of it is in the Bodleian, which Ritson reprinted (less one stanza) in the third volume of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, 1802, and Mr. Hazlitt has since reprinted it in vol. ii. of his *Early Popular Poetry*, p. 67-87. It is only 504 lines long, and its story is a sad one of platonic love. The Lord of Faguell, who has a sweet chaste wife, hears such a report of the bravery and courteousness of "The Noble Knight of Courtesy" that he sends for him to dwell in his land. The Knight comes, and he and the Lady of Faguell fall in love with each other. They have a tender scene in the garden, and agree to love one another in chastity. An overhearer of this warns the Lord against the Knight, and the Lord then calls on the Knight to go to Rhodes, and fight for the Christian Faith. To the Lady's great distress, the Knight consents, and she shears off all her yellow hair to put in his helm as a memento of her. Sadly they part. He seeks adventures, wins jousts, slays a dragon in Lombardy, who nearly kills him; and then he goes to Rhodes to help the Christians against the besieging Saracens. The Knight kills all whom he meets, till at last 12 Saracens set on him, and wound him to death, after he has killed 4 of them. He makes his page promise to cut out his heart, after he is dead, wrap it in his Lady's hair, and take it to her as his present. On the way home, the page is met by the Lord of Faguell, who takes away the heart and hair, has the heart cookt for his Lady's dinner, and then tells her what she has eaten. She reproaches him, and says that, after the heart, she will eat no earthly food; then she yields up her spirit, making her moan.

VII. *Frederik of Gene*. Mr. Halliwell, saying that a fragment of this tract is in Douce's collection in the Bodleian, gives its title (from Herbert's Ames, I suppose.) Mr. Hazlitt adds its colophon. Both follow:

This Mater Treateth of a Merchauntes Wyfe that afterwarde went lyke a man, and becam a Great Lorde, and was called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde. [Col.] Thus endeth this lyttell storye of lord frederyke. Imprynted in Anwarpe by me John Dusborowghe, dwellynge besyde the Camerporte, in the yere of our lorde God. 1518. 4to. With woodcuts.

The fragments—No. 79 in the Douce Fragments—in the Bodleian are identified with the Romance of *Frederyke of Jennen* by the signature on leaf A iij. As to editions, Douce's MS. notes state that his fragments belong to an edition by Pynson (not otherwise known), and not to a copy of John Dusborough's edition. He has written on the cover of the fragments, "Frederick of Jennen p. by Pynson," and also: "Not in Herbert. P[rinted] also by Doesborowe. See Herbert 1533. Story of Cymbeline," The fragments are as follows:—

Douce Fragments, No. 79. ¶ How foure marchauntes met a[ll] togyder,] whiche were of foure dyuerse lo[ndes, and iorney] de all to Parys.

IN the yere of our lorde . . . [it] happened that four [marchauntes] . . . out of dyuerse countrey[s went on their journeys and] as they were goyng [it fell so that by] fortune they met all togyder and . . . gyder / for they were all foure goynge [to P]arys in Fraunce & for comp[any] sake they rode a [. . .] into one ynne / & it was about shraftyde, in the moost ioyfull tyme of all the yere;* and theyr names were called as here foloweth. *the* fyrst was called Courant of Spayne / *the* second was called Borchart of Fraunce / *the* thyrd was called Johan of Florence / & the fourth was called Ambrose of Jennen. Than, by the consent of the other marchauntes, Borcharde of fraunce went vnto the hoste and sayd: "Hoste, now is the meryest tyme of the yere, and we be foure marchauntes of foure dyuerse countreyes, & by fortune we met all togyder in one place & our iorney is to Parys. And therfore whyle we be so met, lette vs make good chere togyder / & ordeyne *the* best meet *that* ye can get for money agaynst to morowe, and byd also some of your beste frendes that you loue mooste, that we maye make good chere togyder or that we departe fro hense / and we shall contente you all your money agayne." And than the hoste sayde that he wolde do it with a good wyll, and than went he, and bad many of his good frendes and neyghbours to dyner; and he bought of *the* best meet that he coude get for money, and brought it home. And on the morowe he dressed it, and made it redy agaynst dyner, after the best maner *that* he coude. And whan *that* it was dynert† . . . e gestes to dyner & the marchauntes . . . them welcome. Than bad *the* mar . . . at he sholde brynge in the meete. & . . . myght go to dyner. And than the . . . wyll. Than when the hoste and . . . meet & set it theron and pray- . . . gestes to them & syt downe togyder . . . good chere al *the* daye longe with good honestey . . . as very late with daunsynge & lepyng. And wh[an they h]ad done / *the* gestes toke theyr leue of the marchauntes, & thanked them for theyr good chere. And than euery man departed home to his house. And than cam the marchauntes to the hoste, and prayed him hertely for to come in, & thanked hym that he had ordered & done all thynges so well and manerly.

‡ ¶ How two of the marchauntes / as Johan of [Florence] and Ambrosius of Jennen hyld one another .v. thousand golde guldens.

wHan al *the* marchauntes & the gestes had made merye togyder al the daye longe / at nyght the gestes toke theyr leue of *the* marchauntes / & thanked them for theyr good chere that they had made them / & so departed euery one to theyr lodgyng. And whan that they were departed euery man to theyr house / than wexed it late. And than cam the hoste of *the* house to the marchauntes & asked them yf that they wolde go slepe / & they answered vnto theyr hoste "yes." And than toke he a candel and brought *the* marchauntes into a fayre chambre, where was .iiij. beddes rychely hanged with costely curtaynes that euerye marchaunt myght lye by themselfe. And whan that they were all togyder in *the* chamber / than began they to speke of many thynges / some good, some bad, as it laye in theyr myndes. Than sayd Courant of spayne: "Syr, we haue be all this daye mery, and made good chere, & euerye one of vs hath a fayre wyfe at home: howe fare they nowe at home, we can not tel." Than sayd borcharde of Fraunce to the other marchauntes: "What aske you how they do? They syt by the fyere, and make good chere and eate / & drynke of the beste, and laboure not at all / & so get they vnto them hote blode; & than they maye take an other lusty yonge man, and do theyr pleasure with hym. *that* we knowe not of / for we be oftentimes long from them, & for *that* cause may *the* lenne§ a lofe, for a nede, secretly to an other." Than sayd Johan of Florence / "we may all well be called fooles & nydeates that truste our wyfes in this maner as we do; for a womans hert is not made of so hard a stone but *that*|| [it] wyll melte / for a womans nature is to be vnstedfaste and tourneth as the wynde dothe, and careth not for vs tyll the tyme *that* we com agayne. And we labour dayely bothe in wynde and rayne, and put often our lyues in iopardy and in auenture on the see, for to fynd them w^{ith}all; & our wyfes syt at home, and make good chere w^{ith} other good felowes, & gyue them part of the money that we get. And therfore, an ye wyll do after my counsaile / let euery one of vs take a fayre wenche to passe *the* tyme w^{ith}al, as well as our wyfes do / & they shall knowe no more of that / than we knowe of them." Than sayde Ambrosius of Jennen to them: "By goddes grace, that shall I neuer do whyle *that* I lyue! For I haue at home a good & a vertuous woman, and a womanlye. And I knowe [wel that] she is not of that dysposycyon but *that*

* Shrovetide is Shrove Tuesday, and may fall on any day between Feb. 2 and March 8.

† [Sign. A. ii. (b).]

‡ Leaf 2. Sign. A. iij.

§ They lend.

|| The signature is Frederyke of Jennen.

she wil eschewe . . . of all suche yll abusyons tyl the tyme that I com home agayn. For I knowe well that she wyl haue non other man but me alone. And yf that I shald breke my wedlocke, than were I but lytell worthe." Than sayd Joh'n of Florence: "Felowe, ye set moche pryce by your wyfe at home, and truste her with all that ye haue. I wyl laye with you a wager of .v. thousande guldens, yf *that* ye wyl abyde me here, I shal departe, & ryde to Jennen, & do *with* your wyfe my wyll." Than sayd Ambrosius to Johan of Florence: "I haue delyuered to my hoste .v. thousand guldens to kepe put ye downe as moche agaynste it, & I shal tarye here tyll the tyme that ye retourne agayn from Jennen, & yf that you, by any maner of menes, can get your pleasure of my wyfe, ye shall haue all this money." Than sayd Johan of Florence: "I am content" and than putted he in his hostes hande other .v. thousande guldens agaynste Ambroses money. And than toke he

[End of Fragment..]

VIII. *Syr Eglamoour*. Of this Romance (translated also from the French) we have at least four manuscript copies: 1. in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ff. ii. 38, printed in the *Thornton Romances* for the Camden Society by Mr. Halliwell in 1844; 2. (imperfect) in the Thornton MS.; 3. in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Calig. A. xii.; 4. in the Percy Folio MS., printed in vol. ii. p. 341-389 of the *Ballads and Romances*. (In the notes there I have mistakenly called the Cambridge MS. printed in Mr. Halliwell's Thornton volume, the Thornton MS.); 5. A single leaf of another early copy, says Mr. Halliwell, is preserved in a MS. belonging to Lord Francis Egerton.

Of old printed editions before 1575, the earliest that we know is in 1508, 'Sir Glamor, Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar,' of which an imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The other editions are London ones, not dated, by William Copland, (a copy among Selden's books in the Bodleian), and by John Walley (a copy in the British Museum): and one of these, Captain Cox doubtless had.

The story of the Romance is told by Mr. Halliwell in Ellis's Metrical Romances, and by me in the side-notes of the Percy Folio print, and narrates how the poor knight Sir Eglamore loves Christabel, the fair daughter of the Earl of Artoys, and how he undertakes three Deeds of Arms to win her; how accordingly he kills the giant Marrocke and a big Boar, a second Giant, and a Dragon near Rome; how before marriage Christabell bears him a boy, with which she is put out to sea alone in a ship, and a Griffin flies away with the boy. She is driven to Egypt, her boy carried to Isarell, while Eglamore, mourning them both as lost, fights and dwells for 15 years in the Holy Land. Then his son, Degrabbell, wins his own mother Christabell at a tournament, and weds her; but she discovers that Degrabbell is her son, and their marriage void. At the second tourney, Eglamore wins his Christabell; they marry; and rule Artoys.

The romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, has almost the same incidents as *Sir Eglamore*, and is a version of the same story.

IX. *Sir Tryamoour*. Mr. Halliwell edited this romance for the Percy Society in 1846 from the earliest known MS. of it, of the time of Henry VI., in the Cambridge University Library. Another MS. of it is in the Bodleian Library; and a third in the Percy Folio, printed in the P. F. *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. p. 78-135.

Of old printed editions we know only two, both without date, by Wylliam Coplande: 1. 'imprinted at London in Temes strete vpon the thre crane wharfe,' of which a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum; 2. 'imprinted at London,—with a different cut on the title to that of the first ed.,—of which a copy is among Selden's books in the Bodleian. To use, with little change, Mr. Hales's words, "the story tells how a good lord (Arradas) and his gentle lady (Margaret) were estranged by the treachery of their steward (Marrocke); how their son (Triamore), conceived in honour, was born

X. *Syr Lambewell*. The earliest form of this romance that we know, is Thomas Chestre's *Syr Launfal* in the Cotton MS. Caligula A. 2, leaf 33 etc., printed in Ritson's Early English Metrical Romances,* which is taken from No. 5 of Queen Marie's *Lais*, that Dr. Mall is about to re-edit. This version differs in form, and somewhat in matter, from the later MS. version printed from Bp. Percy's Folio MS. in the *P. F. Ballads and Romances*, i. 142. When the introduction to the Percy Folio "Sir Lambewell" was written (vol. i. p. 142), the incomplete copy of the Romance in the Rawlinson MS. C. 86, (about 1508 A.D. says Mr. Halliwell) was unfortunately overlooked, though Sir F. Madden had mentioned the piece in his description of the MS. in his *Sir Garwayne* for the Bannatyne Club. From this MS. twenty-nine lines—that which should be the 18th is left out in the MS—are now printed below, as a sample, from a copy made by Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian:—

Landavall.

Wit/ hym there was a Bachiller
 [And had ben there full many a yeer,]
 A yonge kynghte of mushe myght;
 4 "Sir landevale" for-soithe he highte.
 Sir landevale spent blythely,
 And yaf yestes largely; 22
 So wildely his goode he sett,
 That he selle yn grete dette.
 "Who hath no good, goode can he none,
 10 And I am here in vncut londe; 26
 And no gode haue vnder honde;
 Men wille me holde for a wreche.
 Where I be-come, I ne reche."
 14 He lepe vpon a Coursier 30

[&c., about 530 ll.—leaf 128. Ab. 1480 A.D.]

Also, since the publication of the Percy Folio, the Librarian of Cambridge University has shown me a MS. fragment—a page and a quarter, about,—of a much scottified version of Sir Lamwell, differing a little from both the versions printed in the Folio. It is entered in the Index to the Catalogue as “Arthur, on king, iii. 700,” and is printed below:—

 S

off evrie land in World so wyd, thar come to him in eich [a] syd; young knichtis, & squyers eik, & bald baichlers, came him to seik,	12	Eich on to heve me vas full glaid; Nou will thai be off me full sadd; Nou wallaway, this is my song."	52
for to sie <i>the</i> great Nobilnes that was into his court alwayis; for he geve rich gifts & treasour to men of wair & grete honour	16	With soir weiping his hand he wrang, <i>With</i> sourou and cair he did zell, Till hevie on a sleip he fell,	56
with him ther was ane baicheleir And hed beene <i>ther</i> monie ane zeir, Ane young knyght, mekill off nicht; 'Sir Lamuell' forsuith he hecht.	20	Quhen he vakuit out off sieip, Tuo off <i>the</i> fairest maids sau he That ever he did sie with ee,	60
this Lamuell geve gifts michtlie, & spaireit not bot geve largelie; & so libralie he it spent, niche moir nor he hed in rent:	24	Come out off <i>the</i> forrest, & to him drau; fairer befor he never sau; Kirtils thay hed of purple sendill, Small laceit, setting fall ane weill;	64
& so onvyselie he itt fett, that he came mekill into daitt. and quhen he sau weill all was gaine, then he began to mak his moane.	28	Mantils thai hed of rid velvet, Frenzeit with gold ful veill was sett; Thai vaire abowe that over all Upon ther heds a joilie carnall;	68
"alas!" he said, "vo is that mann that na gud heth, nor na gud kann! and I am far in ane ferang land, and na gud hes, I onderstand!"	32	ther faces as <i>the</i> snou was quhyt, <i>with</i> Lufesum cullor off gret delyt; fairar befor he never did sie he thocht <i>them</i> Angels off hevins he.	73
men wald me hald for ane wrache, Quhair I be pur certes, ne riche." he lapp upon ane fair coursoure, with-outtin Chyld orzit squyoure,	36	The on bair ane goldin baiseing, The uther ane touall off Alifyne; Thai Came him both tovarid twaine; he vas courtess, vent <i>them</i> againe;	76
and raid so furth in great murning to dryve away his soir langing. his way he tuik toward <i>the</i> west, betuix ane Vater and ane forrest;	40	"Welcume!" he said, "Madams so frie." "Sir Knyght!" thai answeireit him, "Velcum be ze! My Ladie that is brigt as floure, The grathethe, Sir lamuell, paramour;	80
the sone vas then in eveningtyd, he lichtit down, & wald abyd. for he vas hait in <i>the</i> Wather	43	Sho preyith <i>the</i> cum & speik with hir, ziff it be nou thy plesor, Sir." "I am full faine with you for to fair, for troulie, such as you so rair,	84
he tuik his mantill, and fald to gidder, And laid him doune, <i>the</i> knyght so free, Onder <i>the</i> shadoñ off ane tree: "Alace!" he said, "na gud I heve,	48	On <i>the</i> ground sau I never go:" Washit his face and hands also, & <i>with the</i> maids did glaidlie gang, As merie as marle in hir song.	88
Nor quhair to go! so god me saiff! And all <i>the</i> knichts with ther feires Off <i>the</i> round table that be my peeres,		<i>within</i> the forest ther did sie Ane rich Pavillione <i>ther</i> picht ful hie. Ewrie pom.*	

Cambridge University Library MS. Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11.

The Rawlinson *Landavall* is more like the bit of printed version given to the Bodleian by Mr. Halliwell (and printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio,) than the text of the Folio itself. Mr. Halliwell says in his "Mythology of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," 1845, that the copy of *Lamwell* mentioned by Sir F. Madden in the Lambeth MS. 305 "seems to be an error for the *Lybeaus Discours* in MS. No. 306." "The fabliau or romance of *Lanval* is printed in Le Grand's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1829: and an English paraphrase of it appeared in 'Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' translated from the French of Le Grand (? by George Ellis) 1796." (Hazlitt.)

Of early printed editions of *Sir Lamwell* we know nothing except one fragment of 8 leaves, and another of one leaf both in the Bodleian, and both printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, p. 522-535. Perhaps the first of these is part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8:—

* No more written.

To John Kynge, to prynte these bokes folowyng; that ys to saye, a Jeste of syr gawayne* } the boke
 of Carwyng and sewynge† / syr lambwell; the boke of Cokerye;‡ the boke of nurture for mens }
 sarvautes;§ and for his lycense he geveth to the house } ||

As these old printed texts are more like the Percy Folio version than the Cotton one, we may sketch the story from the Percy MS.

Among the knights who resort to king Arthur 'in merry Carlile' is the young Sir Lambewell. So prodigal is he of his money, that he soon has none left, and rides off westward alone. While he's sleeping under a tree two lovely maidens wake him, and lead him to their lovelier mistress, the daughter of the king of Million or Amillion—Oleron in Chestre's version,—who offers him all he wants. Next day she sends him back to Arthur, with plenty of money (and more to come), which he gives away right and left; but if he ever mentions her name, he is to lose her for ever. Queen Guinevere makes advances to Lambewell, which he rejects; and answers her taunts by saying that his mistress's lowest maiden is fit to be queen over her. For this she accuses him falsely; and he is adjudged to prove his boast about his mistress's maiden, or die. Two ladies then ride up, 'much fairer than the summer's dayes;' then two others, fairer still; at last 'a damsell by her selfe alone; on earth was fairer neuer none.' She is Sir Lambewell's love; she clears him of the charge against him, but speaks no word to him; he has broken faith with her. In vain for him do Arthur and his knights plead. She turns to go alone; but as she passes Lambewell, he leaps on her palfry, swearing he'll never leave her; and in the 'jolly island' called Amilion, they live in bliss.

XI. *Syr Isenbras*. This Romance was printed by Mr. Halliwell from the Thornton MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, in his Thornton Romances for the Camden Society in 1844. Another copy is in the Library of Caius College; and from that and the printed copy in Garrick's plays, now in the British Museum, Ellis sketched the story in his E. E. Metr. Romances. This old printed copy is without date, but 'Imprynted at London by me, Wylliam Copland;' and one leaf of a different edition is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

Sir Isumbras is proud, and forgets God. An angel announces to him his degradation; and, as from Job, his cattle and dwelling are taken by death and fire; his wife and three children alone are left, naked. They start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; their eldest boy is carried off by a lion; the second by a leopard; the wife by a Saracen soudan; the youngest boy by a unicorn, and his mantle by an eagle. Seven years Isumbras serves as a labourer and a smith, and then helps the Christians win a battle, and slays the Soudan who has taken his wife. Seven years he wanders in the Holy Land, and then an angel tells him his sin is forgiven. As a palmer he enters the palace of his wife, the widow-queen: is there kindly treated, and takes office; and one day gets from an eagle's nest the mantle his youngest boy was wrapt in when he was carried off. This leads to his being made known to his wife, and his coronation as king of the Saracens. He tries to convert them, on which they all join two princes near, whom they have persuaded to invade him. With his wife, Isumbras encounters the whole hosts, and they are about to perish, when three knights, who prove to be his three sons—one on a lion,

* See below, p. xxxiv, No. XII.

† A later edition of Wynkyn de Worde's book which was plagiarised from Russell or his original. Both are in my *Babees Book*.

‡ A Proper New Booke of Cookery. Imprinted at London by John Kynge and Thomas Marshe [1558], 12mo in *Corpus Library*, Cambridge.

§ Hugh Rhodes's Book, of which Jackson's edition of 1577 is reprinted in my *Babees Book*, with collations of Petyt's edition, before 1554.

|| The sum is not entered.

the second on a leopard, the third on a unicorn,—come to the rescue, slay 23,000 of the unbelievers, and rout the enemy. Taking the two princes' kingdoms for 2 sons, they conquer another country for the 3rd, and then have all the inhabitants of the new lands and Isumbras's baptized.

XII. *Syr Gawayn*. "A Jeste of syr Gawayne" was as we have seen (§ xi.) licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8, but no part of his edition has reached us. The last leaf only of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Paule Church ye yerde at the sygne of the Maydens heed by Thomas Petyt' is in Bagford's Collections in the British Museum. Four leaves of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of Saynte Johan euangelyst by me Johan Butler' are in the Lambeth Library. This fragment was reprinted by Dr. S. R. Maitland in his *List of Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, 1843, p. 297. Of the Scotch Romance of Golagros and Gawene, an earlier but titleless copy of 1508 is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and its colophon is 'Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagrus and gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar the viii day of Aprile the yhere of god M,CCCCC. and viii yheris.' This, with all the other poems he could collect about Sir Gawain, Sir Frederick Madden edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. The most important of these poems is the very spirited and vigorous romance of Gawain and the Green Knight from the Cotton MS. Nero A x, which Dr. Richard Morris has re-edited for the Early English Text Society, and of which a poor emasculated modernization (of the 16th century, as I suppose) is printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 58-77, and in Sir F. Madden's Appendix No. III. p. 224-242. However, we may feel quite sure that the old black letter 'Jeste of Syr Gawayne' was the one that Captain Cox read; and as the printed fragments we possess of it agree, except in a few words, with the headless version that Sir F. Madden printed in his *Syr Gawayne*, p. 206-223, from a small 4to MS. of Douce's in the Bodleian, written in 1564, and containing several other romances, all 'imperfect, and all, apparently, transcribed from early black-letter editions,' we can get the story from this MS. Sir F. Madden also notices the last leaf of Petyt's edition among Bagford's Collections, MS. Harl. 5927, art. 32, and says "It is no doubt this romance which is alluded to under the title of *Sir Gawayn* by Laneham. . . . The original author . . . in this instance, as in so many others, is French; and in the *Roman de Perceval*, fol. lxxiv. b, we meet with the entire story." This, as Southey (pref. to *Morte d'Arthur*, p. xxvi.), and Sir F. Madden, (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 349-50) note, contains two different accounts of the opening of the tale, 1, making the meeting between Gawayne and the maiden innocent, though judged guilty by her father and brothers; 2, making it guilty (farther on in the work, by Gawayne's confession), as the English adapter made it. The story runs thus:

Gawayne leaves Arthur at the siege of Branlant. After crossing a river and plain, and passing through a wood, Gawayne comes on a magnificent pavilion, in which, on a sumptuous bed, sleeps a lovely girl, Guinalorete, daughter of the king of Lys (or 'Syr Gylberte, a ryche earle,' as the English story calls him). Gawayne kisses her, and she threatens him with the vengeance of her father and Brothers. But—and here the English fragment begins—Gawayne fears no threats. Her father finds them together, and reproaches and challenges Gawayne. They fight; Gawayne unhorses and wounds the father, and goes back to the daughter. To the wounded father comes his son Syr Gya-moure, hears what has happened, calls up Gawayne from his sister's side, and fights him. But Syr Gya-moure is soon unhorsed and wounded too, and Gawayne returns again to Guinalorete (whose name is given only in the French romance). Then comes Syr Gylberte's second son, Syr Tyrry, to his wounded father and brother. He too hears of Gawayne's misdeed, calls him from the Pavilion, fights him, but is unhorsed, and hurt, nigh to death; and Gawayne goes back a third time to his sweet may in the pavilion. At last comes to the poor Syr Gylberte and his two wounded sons, the pride of their

family, son Syr Brandles (or Brandels). The father tells him too of Gawayne's deeds; Brandles calls Gawayne from the pavilion, and they fight so sore that both are glad to separate, vowing to renew the fight whenever they meet, "utterlyc," or to the death. Gawayne puts up his sword and departs, asking only Brandles to 'be friend to that gentle woman,' his sister. 'As for that,' says Brandles,—and here the Petyt leaf begins:—

"She hath caused to day moch shame, parde;
It is pyte she hath her syght!"
"Syr knight" sayd syr gawane "haue good day!
For on fote I haue a long way;
An horse were me wonder dere.
Somytyme good horses I haue good wone,
But now on fote nedes must I gone;
God in haste amende my chere!
Syr gawayne was armed passyng heuy,
On fote might he not endure truelyc:
His knyfe he toke in honde,
[H]is armoure good he cut hym fro,
Elles on fote myght he not go;
Thus with care was he bonde.
¶ Leue we now syr Gawayne in wo,
And speake we more of syr Brandles tho.
When he with his syster met,
[H]e sayd, "fye on the, harlot stronge!
[I]t is pyte that thou lyuest so longe!
Stryppe hardè I wyl set,
[A]nd betè thè, both backe and syde!"
[A]nd then wolde he not abyde;
But to his fader streyte he went.
Then he axed hym how he fared;
[H]e sayd, "son, for thè haue I cared,
[I] wende that thou haddest ben shent."
Brandles sayd, "I haue bet my syster;
[A]nd the knyght, I made hym swere
That, when we mete agayne,
[H]e and I wyl togyder fyght
Tyl we haue spended eche our myght,

[A]nd that one of vs be slayne."
So home they went al togyder.

[Back of leaf.]

And eche of them helped other
As wel as they myght go.
Then the lady gate her awayc;
They saw her neuer after that day;
She went wandryng to and fro.
Also syr Gawayne, in his party,
On fote he went ful weryly,
Tyl he to the courte came home.
Al this aduenture he shewed the kyng,
That with those .iiii. knightes he had fighting,
And eche after other alone.
After that tyme they never met more;
Ful glad were these partyes Therefore;
So was there made the ende.
I pray god gyue vs all good rest,
And those that have harde this lytle geste,
And in hye heuen for to be dwellyng,
And that we al, vpon domes day,
Come to the blysse that lasteth aye,
Where we may here the aungels synge.

¶ Imprynted at london in Paule[s]
churche yarde at the sygne of
the maydens heed, by
Thomas Petyt.

Over this is a separate colophon of Petyt's (No. 31), dated 'In the yere of our Lorde God M.D. XLij,' but it clearly does not belong to the Gawayne *Feaste*. A duplicate of this colophon is on leaf 49 of Bagford's MS. No. 181.

The French romance gives us the sequel of the Geste. It makes Brandelys and Gawayne meet and fight again. Guinalorete, with her child Giglaid, interposes between them twice; and Brandelys, who has been struck down, is persuaded to yield, is made a Knight of the Round Table, and grants forgiveness to Gawayne, 'who begs it on his knees.' (*Madden*, p. 351.)

Sir Thomas Malcore "the compiler of the *Morte d' Arthur* does not insert this episode in his work, but has a distinct allusion to the circumstance, when he says 'Thenne came in Syr Gawayne with his three sons, Syr *Gyngelyn*, Syr *Florence*, and Sir *Louel*; these two were begoten upon Sir Brandelys syster; and al they fayled.'—Vol. ii. p. 383. Sir Brandelys was subsequently, together with Florence and Louel, slain by Lancelot du Lac and his party, at the rescue of Queen Guenever. *Ibid.* ii. 401, 403." (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 351.) (Bk. XIX. c. II. XX. 8).

XIII. *Olyuer of the Castl.* "Y^e Historye of Olyuer of Castylle and the Fayre Helayne. [Colophon] Here endeth y^e historye of Olyuer of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne doughter vnto the kynge of Englande. Imprynted at London in flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de

Worde. The yere of our lorde M.CCCC. and xvijj." "A Spanish Romance," says Mr. Halliwell, "very popular throughout Europe, and translated into most European languages." I have just looked at the 'Contents' of Loys Costé's Rouen edition of 'L'Hystoire de Ollivier de Castille, et Artus d'Algarbe, Preux & vaillans Cheualiers, Auec les proesses de Henry de Castille, filz de Oliuier, et de Helaine, fille du Roy d'Angleterre: et les grandes aduentures ou ilz se sont trainez contre leurs ennemys, comme pourrez voir cy apres," (*Brit. Mus.* $\frac{12450}{1-6}$) and find that it tells how Oliver's mother-in-law falls in love with him, he rejects her advances, goes to England, and—being armed by a knight to whom he promises half his prize—beats every one in a 3-days' tourney, the prize of which is 'la belle Helaine,' the lovely daughter of the King of England. Oliver tries to conceal himself, but is taken, and brought to the Court. Then he takes the King of England's side against the King of Ireland, who has invaded England. Oliver heads the English host, discomfits the Irishmen, follows them to their own country, brings back 7 kings prisoners, and is rewarded by fair Helen's hand. But soon the son of one of Oliver's Irish prisoners captures Oliver himself; and Artus of Algarbe, hearing this, comes to London, mistakes Helen for her husband, and lies by her, purely, and then rescues Oliver. Oliver however hears a wrong story of his wife and Artus, and wounds Artus; but on learning the truth, prays forgiveness. Afterwards Artus falls ill, and to save him, Oliver kills his own two children, and gives their blood to his friend. This heals Artus; God brings the children to life again; and Artus and Oliver go to Castille. Then the knight who armed Oliver for his London tourney claims Oliver's son as his half of Oliver's prize; but, seeing the grief of Oliver and Helen, restores them their boy, and vanishes into Heaven. Oliver then marries his daughter to Artus of Algarbe. Oliver and Helen die; their son Henry is captured, and dies in the Saracens' land; while Artus becomes King of Castille and England.

XIV. *Lucretia and Eurialus*. The original of this Romance was written in Latin by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., born 1405, died 14 Aug. 1464.* One copy of the edition of 1443, in the British Museum—which has another copy on vellum, and others in the Pope's Works—has no title, but is headed "Ence Siluij poetæ Senensis . de duobus amantibus Eurialo et Lucretia . opusculum ad Marianum Sosinum feliciter Incipit prefatio. "It has sheets a, b, c, d, in eights, and e in four; and the Colophon is "Explicit opusculum Ence Siluij de duobus amantibus In ciuitate Leydensi Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCº quadragesimo tercio . Leien."

It was translated into Italian in 1554, "Epistole de Dvi Amanti composte dal fausto et eccellente Papa Pio tradutte in uulgar con elegantissimo modo. In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezaria all' insegna della Fede. M.D.LIIII."

Of English editions we know three.

1. ¶ The goodli / history of the most noble / and beautyfull Ladye / Lucretia of Scene in Tus kane, and of her louer Eurialus verye / pleasaunt and / delectable / vnto y^e / reder. / 4to, black letter, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, in fours; but in the unique Museum copy, H iv, the last leaf, is wanting, containing the last verse of the envoy, or "I.e. A. to the Reder," and the Colophon. Mr. Hazlitt dates the book 'circa 1549.'

For this copy in the British Museum I had 4 vain searches in the Catalogues, but then found it under 'Lucretia of Sienna,' Case 21. c. It has *y* very often for *i* of No. 2, and has better readings. Mr. Hazlitt says that Bagford speaks of an impression in 4to by William Copland,—perhaps the same as No. 3.

* He was an able man, but of loose morals, and spent the latter years of his life in extending the power of the Papacy, thus undoing much of the work of his earlier years when he strove to curb that power. He was on an embassy in Scotland, to make peace between the English and Scotch, when James I. was slain. Pius II. was a great patron of learning, and a bitter enemy of the Turks.

2. Mr. Henry Huth has a unique copy of an edition in small 8vo, dated 1560, 'imprinted at London by John Kynge,' (A B C D E F G H in eights) which he has kindly lent me, and from which the extracts below are printed, though collated for words with the Brit. Mus. ed.; and 3. in the Pepys Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, Mr. Hazlitt notes an edition of 1567, 'Imprynted at London in Louthbury by me Wylliam Copland.' The date 1567 is no doubt right, as other books of W. Copland's are known as late.

The interest of the book—such as it is—is the curious disclosure of the false notions of honour and right prevailing in Italian society in the middle of the 15th century. Its story is this:—

When the Emperor Sigismund enters the town of Sienna in Tuscany, four ladies meet him, among whom,

Lucres the yong Ladie, not yet of twenty yeres, shone in great bryghtnes, yong maryed, in the famly of the Camilis, vnto a very rich man named Menelaus, vnworthie too whom suche beautye shulde serue at home, *but wel worthy of his wyfe to be deceyued.* The stature of the Lady Lucres was more hygher than the other. Her heare plenteous, and lyke vnto the gould wyre, which hanged not downe behinde her, after the manner and custome of maydens, but in goulde and stone she had enclosed it; her forhed highe, of semelye space, wythoute wrynkell, her browes bente, facioned with fewe heares, by due space deuyded, her eyne shining with such bryghtnes that, lyke as the sonne, they ouercame the behoulders loking; with those she might, whome she woulde, slee, and slayne, when she wold, reuyue. Strayt as thriede was her noose, & by euen deuision parted; her fayre chekes, nothyng was more amiable then these chekes, nor nothyng more delectable to behold, wherin, when she dyd laughe, appeared two proper pyttes,* whiche no man did se, that wished not to haue kissed. Her mouth smal and comely, her lippes of corall colour, handsom to bite on; her small tethe, wel set in order, semed Cristal, throughe which the quieryng tonge dyd send furth, not wordes, but moost pleasaunt armony. What shall I shewe the beautye of her chynne, or the whitenesse of her necke? No thyng was in that bodie not too bee praysed, as the outwarde aparaunces shewed token of that that was inwarde:† no man beheld her *that* dyd not enuye her husbände. . . . Nothyng was more sweter, nor soberer, than her talcke. . . . Her apparell was diuers; she wanted nether broches, borders, gyrdels, nor rynges. The abilimentes of her head was sumptuose, many pearles, many diamantes, were on her fingers and in her borders. (Sign. A. ii. back, to A. iii. ed. *Kynge*; A ii back to A iii, *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

This young beauty, and Eurialus of Tuscany, a companion of the Emperor's, fall in love with one another at first sight, and their adventures and painful end are told in the little book, which shows how corrupt and false the ideas on love of Italian gentlemen and ladies of the time must have been. Two extracts from the book, on Italian women, and servants, are given in the *Notes* to my edition of Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* and *Dyetary* etc. for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1870.

We are also indebted to another original of Pope Pius II.'s for another English translation.

'Here begynneth the Eglogues of Alexander Barclay, preest, whereof the fyrst thre conteyneth the myseryes of courtiers and courtes, of all prynces in generall. The matter wherof was translated into Englyshe by the sayd Alexander, in fourme of Dialoges, out of a boke named in Latin *Miseria curialium*, compyled by Æneas Silvius, Poete and Oratour, whiche after was Pope of Rome, and named Pius.' Colophon: 'Thus endeth the fourthe Eglogge of Alexandre Barclay, conteyning the maners of riche men anenst poetes and other clerkes. Emprynted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace.' 4to, black letter, 22 leaves, with woodcuts.

XV. *Virgil's Life.* Not that of the Roman poet Publius Virgilius Maro, but of his Middle-Age representative, when he (Virgil) was turned into a Magician: "This boke treateth of the Lyfe of Virgilius, and of His Deth, And Many Maruayles that he dyd in hys Lyfe Tyme by Whychcrafte and Nygramancye thorough the helpe of the Deuyls of Hell [Colophon] Thus endeth the lyfe of Virgilius, with many dyuers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Anwarpe By me Johan Does-

* pytes, *Kynge*.

† Of that that was in warder, *Kynge*; of that that was inwarde, *Brit. Mus. ed.*

borcke dwellynge at the camerporte [*circa* 1520] 4to, 30 leaves. Bodleian (Douce)—*Haslitt*.^{*} Another edition—"the booke of Virgill"—was licensed to William Coplande in 1561-2,† and is no doubt the incomplete copy among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Mr. Thoms says that this edition is so imperfect that he couldn't reprint it, and he had therefore to take Mr. Utterson's reprint of Doesborcke's, which was of course more handy, and saved trouble. This (*Thoms*, ii. 21-59) tells us that Virgilius was the son of a 'knyght of Champanien' and the daughter of a Roman Senator, and was born in the days of the grandson of Remus, whose father slew his uncle Romulus. The boy learnt necromancy from books which he was shown by a devil, who wriggled out of a hole in a hill when Virgil pulled out a board there. The devil had been conjured and shut up there, out of a man's body, till the Judgment-day; and Virgil, having got his books, bet the Devil he couldn't wriggle into the hole again. But the Devil did it, and then Virgil shut him up again. Virgil then taught at Tolenten, came to Rome to recover his heritage, which he did by miraculous magic, shutting up his castle and lands in fixed air, making the Emperor Perseydes and his army lift their feet up and down in the same place for a day, etc. Then he made love to the fairest lady in Rome, and was by her hung out—like Hippocras (see my *Saint Graal*, ii. 31)—in a basket half-way up her tower, for which he revenged himself. Then he married a wife; then he made a set of idols for all the countries subject to Rome, so that when any of the countries were going to rebel, its idol rang a bell, and gave the Senators notice. Then he made a copper horse, man, and dogs, to hunt and kill all the thieves and night-walkers in Rome; then an ever-burning lamp; then the goodliest orchard in the world; &c. Then he took a fancy to the Sodor's daughter, whom he carried off by a bridge of air; and, when caught on his second visit, delivered himself by magic, carried the lady away, and built Naples for her; 'and the foundacyon of it was of eggcs.' Then the Emperor of Rome besieged Naples, and Virgil delivered it, and peopled it with scholars and merchants. Then he made a metal serpent to bite off false-swearers' hands; but an artful woman evaded the punishment, and Virgil destroyed his serpent. Lastly, he made a wonderful castle, and told his man to cut him in pieces, salt him, and let oil drop from a lamp for 9 days on him, so that he might get young again. But just before the charm was completed, the Emperor killed the man who looked after the lamp; on which, a naked chylde—the new Virgil, underdone, no doubt—ran 3 times round the barrel, saying, "cursed be the tyme that ye cam euer here," and vanished; "and thus abyed Virgilius in the barell, dead."

On the legend, Mr. Thoms's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 1-17, may be consulted.

XVI. *The Castle of Ladies*. "Here begynneth the Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes the which boke is devyded into iii partes. The fyrst parte telleth how & by whom the wall & the cloystre about the Cyte was made. The seconde parte telleth how & by whom the Cyte was buylded within & peopled. The thyrde parte telleth how & by whom the hygh battylments of the towres were parfytely made" &c. No place or date. 4to. Dibdin (*Amcs* ii. 378) calls the copy *he* saw, a very 'curious and amusing volume,' says that it's in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and gives an extract from the first chapter which doesn't show the character of the book at all. Mr. Hy. Huth has another copy of the book, which was originally in Mr. F. S. Ellis's hands, incomplete, but Mr. Lilly completed it by a facsimile page. Mr. Huth is unluckily in the country when this sheet goes to press; but on his return he will enable me to report on the book and its story in my *Notes*, and settle whether Lancham's *Castle of Ladies* is this *Cyte of Ladies*. If it is not, the *Castle* is not now known to bibliographers.

* This was reprinted by Utterson, and for Pickering in 1827, in Mr. Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, a work revised and reprinted in 1858.

† Stationers' Register A, leaf 73 back; Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 47.

XVII. *The Wido Edyth.* Of this, before Laneham's time, we know two editions, 1. John Rastell's in 1525, 'Emprynted at London at the sygne of y^e Meremaid at Polls gate next to Chepe syde. The yere of our Lord. M.V.C.XXV. The xxiii. day of March,' of which a copy is at Wentworth,*

"The Widow Edyth. XII mery gestys of one called Edyth
The lying Wydow whych yet still lyueth."

2. Richarde Johnes's: "XII mery Jests of the wyddow Edyth. 1573:" and this gives the supposed author's name "Finis. by Walter Smith." Copies are in the Bodleian, and in Mr. Hy. Huth's library. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted the 1573 edition in his capital collection of Early Jestbooks, 1860, 3rd series, p. 27. The *Jests* are anecdotes of how Widow Edyth cheated people by representing herself to be a rich widow; and the poem is written by one Walter Smith,—seemingly a servant of Sir Thomas More's at Chelsea—one of her lovers. The list of the Twelve Jests from Mr. Hazlitt's reprint will be, perhaps, enough account of the book:

The first mery Jest declareth, how this faire and merye Mayden Edith was maryed to one Thomas Ellys, and how she ran away with another, by whom she had a bastard Doughter, and how she deceiued a Gentleman, bearynge him in hand how her Doughter was Heire to faire Landes and great Richesse.

The second mery Jest: how this lying Edyth made a poore man to vnthatch his House, bearyng him in hand that she wold couer it with Lead: and how she deceiued a Barbour, makyng him beleue she was a widow, and had great aboundance of Gooddes.

The thyrd mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued her Hoste at Hormynger, and her Hoste at Brandonfery, and borrowed money of them both, and also one mayster Guy, of whome she borrowed iiii. Marke.

The fourth mery Jest, how this wydow Edith deceiued a Doctor of diuinitie, at S. Thomas of Akers in London, of v. Nobles he layd out for her; and how she gaue hym the slyp.

The fifth merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a man and his wife that were ryding on Pylgremage, of iiii Nobles that they laid out for her; and how she deceiued a scriuener in London, whose name was M. Rowse.

The sixt merye Jest: how this wydowe Edyth deceiued a Draper in London of a new Gowne and a new Kyrtell; and how she sent hym for a Nest of Gobblets and other Plate to that scriuener whome she had deceiued afore.

The vii mery Jest: how she deceiued a seruau^t of Sir Thomas Neuells, who in hope to haue her in Mariage, with al her great riches, kep^t her company tyl al his money was spent; and then she tooke her flight, and forsooke him.

The eight mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued a seruau^t of the Bysshop of Rochesters, with her coggyng^e, and boastynge of her great Richesse; who like wise thought to haue had her in Maryage.

The ix mery Jest: how she deceiued a Lord, som^m-tyme Earle of Arundell: and how he sent v. of his men seruantes and a handmaid to bere her company, and fetch her Daughter, who, as she boasted, was an Heire of great Landes.

The tenth merye Jest: how she deceiued three young men of Chelsey, that were seruantes to Syr Thomas More, and were all three suters vnto her for Maryage; and what mischaunce happened vnto her.

* Of this edition not more than 3 copies are known. It extends to sign. D. iii. Hazlitt's *Jest Books*, 3rd series, p. 28.

The xi. mery Jest: how she deceiued three young men of the Lord Legates seruants, with her great lyng, crakyng, and boastyng of her great Treasure and Juciles.

The xii. merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued the good man of the three Cuppes in Holburne, and one John Cotes: and how they both ryd with her to S. Albans to ouersee her houses and landes: and how thei were rewarded [or sold, and had to ride back to London, the widow having slipt away from them: "God saue the Wydow, where euer she wende!" says the forgiving Smith in his last line].

Walter Smith, the writer of the poem, comes-in in 'the Tenth mery Jest' (p. 75). The widow, after taking-in the Earl of Arundel, stops at Eltham for 3 weeks and a day, then walks to a thorp [village] called Batersay, takes a wherry, and is rowed over to Chelsea, where she is housed at Sir Thomas More's. There she boasts so of her property at Eltham—2 worsted looms, 2 mills, a brewery, 4 plows, 15 men-servants, 7 maids, etc. etc.—

'That three young men she cast in a heat,
Which seruants were in the same place,
And all they wooed her a good pace.'

The first was Thomas Croxton, servant to Master Alengton; the second Thomas Arthur, servant to Master Roper—Sir Thomas More's son-in-law; and the third was Walter Smith, who dwelt at Chelsea. After the widow has gammoned Croxton and Arthur, Smith meets her in the cloister, takes her in his arms, kisses her, and tells her how he loves her. She says she loves him, and that when she comes to Chelsea again, she'll bring him a crucifix of pure gold as a remembrance of her;

Thaw Walter stode on tipto, and gan him self auance;
"I thank you," quod he, "euen with all my hart."
He kissed her deliciously, and then dyd depart.

She comes back to Chelsea the same night; but by then, Thomas Arthur has found out what an impostor she is; and they play her a trick, put 'Pouder Sinipari' in her food, give her a violent purging, and then get her put in jail for 3 weeks.

XVIII. *The King and the Tanner*. The notice of the earliest printed edition of this short story is in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 116 back, (Collier, i. 99)

W greffeth Receaved of William greffeth, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "the story of kynge henry the iiijth and the Tanner of tamworth" iiij^d

But no copy of this is now known. The earliest printed copy we know is that by Danter in 1596, which Percy cookt sadly in his *Reliques*, ii. 91, ed. 1812, where it is called "A merry, pleasant and delectable history between King *Edward* the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth." Heywood also took Edward as the hero of the ballad, and used its incidents in his *Edward the Fourth*, Shakespeare Society, 1842 (*Collier*). The earliest copy of the ballad known to us is a strongly provincial one in the MS. More Ec, 4, 35, in the University Library, Cambridge, which has been printed by Ritson in his *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864, i. 1, as "The King and the Baker." It does not name its king, and makes its tanner one of 'Dantre' or Daventry in Warwickshire, but tells the same story as Danter's copy of 1596: 'The kyng' overtakes a tanner riding a cob, and sitting on a lot of black cow hides; the tanner takes the king for a thriftless scamp, and then for a thief, when he sees the king's men; but they talk together and when Lord Basset kneels to the king, the tanner is afraid for his life. Then the king changes his high horse for the tanner's low one, to go hunting under the branches; the tanner puts his cowhides on the king's saddle, their horns prick the horse, and he breaks the tanner's head against the bough of an oak. The king laughs; they change horses again; the tanner promises the king a drink the next time they meet in Daintry, and the king gives him a hundred shillings.

Ballads and stories of like kind to this are 'John de Reeve' and the 'Kinge and Miller' in the Percy Folio *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. 147, 559, 'Rauf Coilzear,' 'King Edward and the Shepherd,' 'The King and the Hermit,' etc. In the East as well as the West, the subject of kings mixing familiarly with their poor subjects has been popular; Haroun-al-Raschid, as well as King Alfred, is an instance of it. See Percy's and Prof. Child's introductions to 'Edw. IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth,' etc.

XIX. *Frier Rous*. No copy of this book is known before 1620, but Collier, i. 199, gives this entry from the Stationers' Register A (on leaf 179,)

Alde R of John Alde, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "Freer Russhe" ii j^d

As John Alde's son Edward issued the edition of 1650, which is reprinted in Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1858, it is probable that the later edition did not differ much from the one that Captain Cox read. "The Historie of Frier Rush: How he came To A House of Religion to Seeke Service, and Being Entertained by The Priour, was First made Under Cooke. Being Full of Pleasant Mirth and Delight for Young People," tells how Rush (or Puck, or Robin Goodfellow,) is 'a divell' sent by Belphegor, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub, as a servant into a Monastery, where he throws the Cook into a kettle of boiling water, for beating him; gives the friars bacon in their pottage on fast-days; makes truncheons for them and sets them all by the ears, so that they have a regular fight, ending with broken heads, arms, and legs; puts tar instead of grease to the Prior's waggon- (or carriage-) wheels, makes him pay for wine he doesn't drink; breaks the dormitory stairs, so that all the friars come tumbling on one another as they go to matins; and cuts a farmer's cow in two, and cooks one half for the friars. Then comes the old episode of the Devils meeting and reporting their deeds, and he who's made the Religious sin, getting highest praise:* but the farmer overhears the reports, tells the Prior that Rush is a devil, and he is accordingly turned out. He turns better; goes as servant to a husbandman whose wife is unfaithful with the Priest; and then catches the Priest hidden, first in a chest, afterwards in some straw, and lastly in a basket hung up by a rope. Rush throws the Priest on the dunghill, whacks him, drags him through a pool, and through the town, at his horse's tail. He does the husbandman's heavy work in a trice; gets another devil conjured out of a girl's body by his friend the Prior, carries a load of lead up to the Prior's church-roof, flies home with the Prior on his back; and then the Prior "commaunded him to goe into an olde castle that stood farre within the forest, and never more to come out, but to remaine there for ever. From which Devill and all other Devills, defend us good Lord! Amen!"

XX. *Howleglas*. Of this work we know of three different editions by Wylliam Copland, though of each only one imperfect copy has survived. One copy has no colophon; the other two were printed after Wylliam Coplande had left his predecessor Robert's old house, the Rose Garland in Fletestrete. The first of these, that in the Brit. Mus., was 'Imprynted at London in T. at the V. on the 3 Cr. Wharfe;' the second, or Bodleian copy, was 'Imprynted at Lothbury;' where W. Copland printed from 1562-3 (see my *Boorde Forewords*, p. 19) to 1567 (see above, p. 135). The earliest ed. must have borne date after 1547 (the latest date of Robert Coplande's books) or 1548 (the earliest date of Wylliam Coplande's). To Mr. Collier is due the credit of having brought the Lothbury edition to public notice, and of having shown that the Bodleian copy was possibly the poet Spenser's, and lent by him to Gabriel Harvey†

* See R. Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Dan Michel's *Aycbite of Inweyt*, etc.

† [4°. Z. 3. Art. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.) last page, back of Colophon.]

This Howletglass, with Skoggin, Skelton, & L[a]zarill[o], giuen me at London, of Mr. Spenser xx. Decembris, 1[5]78. on condition [y^e I] shoold bestowe y^e reading of them ou[er] before y^e first of January,

(*Bibliographical Catal.* i. 379-381). The title is "Here beginnethe a merye Jeste of a man called Howleglas, and of many maruelous thinges and Jestes that he dyd in his lyffe in Eastlande and in many other places." The book is sm. 4to, without date, printed by Copland. 2 copies of this work are in the British Museum. Here are the Prologue and 'Contents':—

The Prologue.—For the great desyryng and praying of my good frandes,*—and I *the* first writer of this boke might not denye them,—Thus haue I comp[y]led† & gathered muche knauyshnes & falsnes of one Howleglas, made and done within his‡ lyfe, whiche Howleglas dyed *the* yeare of our lorde God. M.CCCC. & L.§ Nowe I desyre to be pardoned both before ghostly & worldly, afore highe & lowe, afore noble and vnnoble. And right lowly I requyre all those *that* shall reade or heare this presente Ieste, my ignoraunce to excuse. This fable is not but only to renewe *the* mindes of men or women of all degrees from *the* vse of sadnesse, to passe the tyme with laughter or myrthe, And forbe-cause *the* simple knowyng persones shuld beware if folkes can see. Me thinke it is better to|| passe the tyme with such a mery Ieste, and laughe there at, and doo no synne, than for to wepe, and do synne.

Contents.—Howe Howleglas, as he was borne, was christened iii. tymes vpon one day. How Howleglas aunswered a man that asked the hyghe waye. How that Howleglas sat vpon his fathers horse, behynde hym. How Howleglas fell fro the rope into the water. How Howleglas mother learned hym, and bad him go to a craft. How Howleglas got bread for his mother. How Howleglas was stolen out of a bye-hyue by nyght. How Howleglas was hyred of a pryest. How Hogleas was made a paryshe clarke. How Howleglas wold flye fro a house-top. How Howleglas made hymselfe a physicion, and how he begyled a doctour with hys medicines. . . . How Howleglas made hole all the sycke folke that were in the hospytall, where the spere of our lord is. How Howleglas was hyred to be a bakers seruant. How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalte, for to watche vpon a tower to see whan his enemies came, and than for to blowe an horne to warne them therof. How Howleglas wan a great deale of mony wyth a poynt of foolyshnesse. How the duke of Lunenborough banyshed Howleglas out of his lande. . . . How Howleglas toke vpon hym to be a paynter. How Howleglas had a great disputacion with all the douctours of Pragem in Bemen. How Howleglas became a pardoner. How Howleglas did eate for money in the towne Banberbetch. How Howleglas went to Rome to speke *with* the pope. How Howleglas deceived iii. Jewes with durt. How Howleglas had gotten the persons horse by his confession. How Howleglas was hyred of a blacke smyth. How

j[med]iatly ensuing: otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian jn fower uolumes. Whereupon I was y^e rather iuduced to trifle away so many howers, as were jdely ouerpassed jn running thorowgh y^e f[oresai]d foolish bookes: wherein methowg[h]t not all fower together seemed comparable for s[utt]le & crafty feates with Jon Miller / whose witty shiftes, & practises ar rep[o]rted amongst Skeltons Tales. Dyce's *Skelton's Works*, vol. i, p. lxvi.]

[*In the same hand, previous page, but crossed through with the pen:*—"Skelton's only Jon Miller, worth all Howletglasse, Skoggin, and Skelton besyde."]

The book, says Mr. G. Parker, has evidently been read through, as many passages are underlined, and crosses and strokes occur in the margin: and in the *Table*, at end, there are lines, crosses, and notes, all by the same hand.

TABLE. Thus:—*How howleglas wold flye fro a house top.* [*MS. note,*] Skoggins patterne.

.. after chapt. 12, is added in MS.

„ A miracle upon y^e hault, & lame. Idem jn Mensa philosophica
on the next page blynde [*MS. note*].

„ how howleglas gaue, xx, gyldens to xii, poore men for Christes loue,
next line A great braggadocia [*MS. note*].

how howleglas feared *his host w^t a dead woulfe.*

* Frenedes, B. † Compiled, A; compyled. B. ‡ Dis, B.

§ 'The end of the book says 'M.CCC. & fyftie.' || No, A; to, B.

Howleglas was hyred of a shoemaker. How Howleglas serued a tayler. . . . How Howleglas through his subtle disceytes deceyued a wync drawer in Lubeke. How Howleglas became a maker of Spectacles, and how he coulde fynde no worke in no lande. How Howleglas was hyred of a marchaunt man to be his cooke. How howleglas was desyred to dyner. How howleglas wane a piece of cloth, of a man of the country. How howleglas gave xx. gyldens to .xii. poore men, for Christes loue. How howleglas feared his host *with* a dead woulfe. How howleglas flied a hound, and gaue the skyn for halfe hys dynner. How howleglas serued *the* same hostise another tim[e], and laye on a whele. How Howleglas serued a holander *with* a rosted aple. How Howleglas made a woman that sold erthen pottes to smyte them all in pieces. How Howleglas brake the stayres that the munkes shulde come down on to matyns, and how thei fell downe into the yarde. How Howleglas bought creame of the women of the cuntrey that brought it for to sell. How Howlegl[a]s came to a scholer, to make verses with him to the vse of reason. How Howleglas was seeke at Molen,* . . . and how Howleglas deceiued his ghostly father. How Howleglas made his testament. How Howleglas was buried.

¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Howleglas.

XXI. *Gargantua*. 'The History of Gargantua, a romance translated from Rabelais, and alluded to by Shakespeare. A book entitled "The History of Garagantua," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1594, but there was no doubt a much earlier edition. The author of Harry White's Humour, 1640, "is of this opinion, that if the histories of Garagantua and Tom Thumbe be true, by consequence, Bevis of Hampton and Scoggin's Jests must needes be authentically."—Halliwell, p. 14.

Rabelais was born about 1483; he began to publish his Gargantua and Pantagruel in parts in 1535; and he died in 1553. As we have no notice of an English translation before 1575, it is possible that Laneham had seen the French original in his travels, and spoke of that here, without thinking whether Captain Cox knew French or not.

XXII. *Robin Hood*. The entries before 1575 under this heading in Mr. Hazlitt's Handbook, are

1. A geste of Robyn hode. (A very imperfect copy of an edition from the press of W. Chepman and A. Myllar, *circa* 1508, in 4to, black letter, is in the Adv. Lib. Edinb.)

2. (a.) Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hode. (Colophon) Explycit. Kynge Edwarde and Robyn Hode & Lytell Johan. Enprented at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sone By Wynken de Worde. n. d. 4to, 32 leaves. With a woodcut on the title page and Caxton's device at end. In verse. Public Library, Cambridge (held to be unique).

(b.) A lytell geste, etc. 4to, black letter. Printed with the same types as W. de Worde's edits. of Memorare Novissima and Thordynary of Christen men. Bodleian (Douce's fragm.).

(In a bookseller's cat. for 1865 were several leaves of this tract, ascribed to Pynson's press, but query).

3 (a.) A mery geste of Robyn Hooode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme. (This title is over a woodcut of Robin Hood and Little John.) (Colophon) Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode. Imprinted at London vpon the thre Crane Wharfe by wylliam Copland. n. d. 4to, black letter, 34 leaves, or J 2, in fours. Br. Museum (Garrick). (The geste commences on the back of the title page, thus; Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hooode and his mery men, and of the proude shyryfe of Notynggham: concluding on H 2 recto with

* Mr. Halliwell prints 'Moten.'

'Thus endeth the lyfe of Robyn hode.' On H 2 verso begins the Play, and occupiēs 9 pages, ending on J 2 verso.)

4. As Robyn Hood in Barnesdale stood. (Mentioned in Udall's translation of Erasmi Apothegmata, 1542, but no early copy has yet been found).

5. A ballett of Robyn hod. Licensed to John Alde in 1562-3.

As Wyllyam Coplands's edition of the *Mery Geste and Play* is the one nearest to Laneham's time, we'll suppose that 'the black Prince and Captain Cox' had it, and say what it contains.

The well-known *Lytell Geste* tells in 8 fyttes how 1. Robin,—with Little John, Scathlock, and Much, the miller's son,—feeds and clothes, and lends £400 to, a knight who is mourning for the almost certain loss of his lands, pledged for £400 to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, because his son has slain a Lancashire knight, and a squire. 2. The day for redemption of the mortgage arrives; the Abbot makes sure of getting the land, and has bribed the Justice to take his side, when the knight comes to beg for longer time to pay off the mortgage in, and offers to serve the Abbot till he can repay him. The Abbot refuses scornfully, and appeals to the Justice to declare that the place is his. On this the knight pulls out Robin's £400, and gets back his land. He afterwards saves up the money, and starts with 100 bowmen, carrying 100 bows etc. as a present, to pay Robin; and on his way releases a strange archer at a match, who has beaten all the other shots, and is to be slain from envy. 3. Little John* turns man-servant to the Sheriff of Nottingham, gets up a row in the house because he has to wait for his dinner, fights the big cook, and then persuades him to join in robbing the Sheriff, and going off to Robin Hood. In the forest, Little John finds the Sheriff, and by a trick brings him to Robin, who makes him sleep in the forest, and lets him go, on his swearing never to hurt Robin or his men. 4. Little John, Much, and Scathlock, take a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and frighten away 50 of his 52 followers. Robin gives the monk a dinner, and takes away all his gold, £800 and more. The knight to whom Robin had lent £400, then brings it him back, with 20 marks interest, and a present of 100 bows with arrows, etc. Robin accepts the bows, but refuses the £400, as he's already been paid by the monk of St. Mary's. He then gives the knight another £400 for his bows. 5. The Sheriff of Nottingham proclaims a shooting-match. Robin wins the prize. The Sheriff tries to take him and his men; but they make good their retreat to Syr Rychard-at-the-Lee's friendly castle. 6. There the Sheriff besets them, but Sir Richard bids him off, and says he'll answer to the king for his acts. To London the Sheriff goes; and the king promises him that he'll come to Nottingham in a fortnight, and take Robin. Meantime the Sheriff waylays Sir Richard; but his wife at once tells Robin; and he overtakes the party, kills the Sheriff, and frees Sir Richard. 7. The king comes to Nottingham, finds all his deer gone, and is very wroth, but can't find Robin Hood. At last drest like an Abbot and monks, the king and five of his knights soon meet Robin, are robbed of all their money, £40, and the Abbot (or King) invites Robin to dine with the King. Glad at this, Robin gives the Abbot dinner, serves him, has a shooting-match for him, and takes a buffet from him when he, Robin, misses putting his arrow inside the rose-garland bull's-eye. Then Robin and Sir Richard recognize the King; kneel and crave pardon, which is granted. 8. The King gets Robin to clothe him and his knights in green; they all go together to Nottingham, and Robin stays at court for 15 months till all his money's gone. Then he journeys home to 'Bernysdale' and dwells 'in grene wode' twenty-two years, till the wicked Prioress of Kyrkesley, incited by Sir Roger of Donkestere, lets him blood, to his death.

* He is represented in the woodcut on Copland's title-page as a fierce little man in complete armour, with his right hand on a very big scimitar, sheathed, and his left hand carrying a battle-axe longer than himself, while Robin Hood is a very tall archer, with bow, arrows, and feather to match.

'The newe playe for to be played in Maye games, very plesaunte and full of pastyme' as the title-page says, or 'verye proper to be played in Maye games,' as the heading on leaf H ii back (unsigned) has it, is a dramatization, with changes, of 'Robin Hood and Friar Tuck,' and 'Robin Hood and the Potter.' Ritson says in his *Robin Hood Ballads* that he has reprinted the Play 'in another place.' Robin tells his men how he fought with a Friar, and the Friar took his purse. Who will go and fetch the Friar? Little John volunteers; but Friar Tuck appears; and after much mutual abuse, the Friar takes Robin on his back and throws him into the water. They fight; Robin blows for his men; the Friar whistles for his men, not dogs:—

Now cut and bause,
Bring forth the clubbes and staues,
And down with those ragged knaves,—

when Robin proposes to the Friar to serve him, and have not only golde and fee, but also 'a Lady free.' The lady or 'huckle duckle' as the Friar calls her, he eagerly accepts; and then comes the second incident. Robin complains of a proud Potter who won't pay passage-money for his use of the road. Who'll make him? Little John says that none of 'em can; but Robin undertakes to do it. Then the potter's boy appears, and Robin smashes all his pots. The Potter comes up, abuses Robin, and offers to fight him with sword and buckler. Robin accepts, tells Little John

Be the knaue neuer so stoute,
I shall rappe him on the snoute
And put hym to flyghte.

Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode.

Whether the Potter got rapt on the snowt, 'wyllyam Copland' of 'the thre Crane wharfe' does not say; but doubtless the play, when acted, wound up with the Potter's beating and flight.

Six imperfect versions of Robin Hood ballads differing somewhat from any others known are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. 1. 'Robin Hoode his Death' is the most important.

We know from Latimer and Stubbes what a hold the Robin Hood games had on the common folk in their days. In Henry the VIII.'s time Robin was popular at Court too. Witness Hall's accounts, of which here is one:—

"The kyng soon after (Henry VIII., after 12th January, 1509-10) came to Westminster with the quene and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the number of twelue, came suddinly in a mornynge into the Quenes Chamber, all appareled in shorte cotes of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, euery one of them his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like outlawes, or *Robyn Hodes men*: whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and all other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commynge: and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thei departed."—*Hall's Chronicle*. p. 513, ed. 1809. See too the Maying of 1515, when 200 of the king's guard dressed as Robin Hood and his men, and gave the king and queen a venison breakfast at Shooter's Hill.—*ib.* p. 582.

XXIII. *Adam Bel, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley*. Of this well-known ballad on the three bold outlaws of the north we only know, 1. an early fragment which Mr. Hazlitt thinks was printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*E. Pop. Poetry*, ii. 132) and which Mr. J. P. Collier said in 1865 was 'not long since discovered as the fly-leaf to another book' (*Bibl. Catal.* i. 11); 2. a complete though incorrect edition among Garrick's books in the British Museum, 'Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wyllyam Copland,' doubtless before 1557, as it is not in the Stationers' Register A. But in this MS., on leaf 24, next to an entry of a license to 'William Coplande,' stands, under the year 1557-8, this:

To John Kynge to prynte this boke Called Adam bell &c.; and for his lycense he geveth to the howse . . . [*no sum.*]

We get a notice of another edition (no doubt) before 1575 * in Register B, (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) by Awdeley who wrote the *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*,† and was called John Sampson, or Awdeley, or Sampson Awdeley.

[1581-2] 15 Januarij.

John Charlwood. Rd. of him, for his lycense to printe theis Copies hereafter mentioned, &c. Copies which were Sampson Awdeley's, and now lycensed to the said John Charlwood &c. . . . Adam Bell.

Some pleasant talk and bibliographical cram on the ballad and its subject, the reader will find in Mr. Hazlitt's introduction to it in *Early Pop. Poetry*, ii. 131, and Mr. Collier's *Bibl. Catal.* i. 11, while a slightly differing copy of the ballad is in the *Percy Folio Ballads*, iii. 76-101. The story of the ballad is so widely known as hardly to need mention. William Cloudesley goes from the green forest to see his wife and children in the town: there he is betrayed by an old woman he has kept for charity 7 years; his house is burnt, and he taken, and condemned to die. Adam Bell and Clim of the Clough get into the town, cut Cloudesley loose at the foot of the gallows, rescue him, and all get away to the merry greenwood. There Cloudesley finds his wife and children; then goes with his son to London, and, by the Queen's intercession, gains the King's pardon for himself and his friends. But afterwards, when the King hears of 300 men, the Mayor, Constables, Catchpolls, Bailiffs, and Serjeant-at-Law, of Carlisle, all slain by the outlaws,—besides 40 of his own foresters,—he regrets that he hasn't hanged them all three. Cloudesley then beats all the king's archers, and, like Tell before him, splits an apple on his son's head at sixscore paces with an arrow, is made a gentleman, his wife chief gentlewoman of the Queen's nursery; and all the three outlaws live with the King, and die good yemen all. Thus were the merry men wont to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.'

XXIV. *The Churl and the Burd.* Of this popular poem by Lydgate we have no less than seven printed editions before Captain Cox's time, besides more manuscript copies. Caxton's first edition, about 1479, is in the University Library, Cambridge; his second, about 1480, is in the York Chapter Library, and has been reprinted for the Roxburgh Club. Wynkyn de Worde's first edition was printed in Caxton's house, about 1500 A.D.; his second 'in the Fletestrete in the sygne of the Sonne,' and a copy is in the University Libr. Cambr. Of Pynson's edition a copy is in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. Johan Mychell's edition was 'printed at Cantorbury in Saynte Paules parysshe' about 1540, and copies are among Selden's books in the Bodleian and at Bridgewater House. Lastly, Wyllyam Copland's edition was 'Imprinted at London in Lothburi ouer against Sainct Margarytes church' about 1550, and was reprinted by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, 4to. In 1840 Mr. Halliwell printed the poem from the Harl. MS. 116, leaves 146-152 in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society, p. 179-193. There must be several other MS. copies of it. The moral of the poem, translated 'out of the Frenssh,' and that taken from the Latin, is, that you're not to be too fast to believe all the tales you hear, not to cry for spilt milk, and not to covet what you can't get. A Churl is very fond of his garden, and adorns it with trees, alleys, a fountain, etc. On a laurel in its midst, a beautiful gold-bright Bird sings often 'a verray heavenly melodye.' This Bird the Churl catches, and proposes to put it in a cage to sing to him. But the Bird says it can't sing in thralldom, only in liberty; the Churl'd better let it go, and then it'll come and sing to him every day, and will also tell him 'thre grete wysdoms . . . more of valewe . . . thane al the golde that is shet in [his] cofre.' On this the Churl sets the Bird free; and the Bird tells him 1. Give not too hasty credence to every tale or tiding; 2. Desire not a thing which it is impossible to recover; 3. 'For tresoure loste, make ye never to [=too] gret sorowe.' Then the Bird tells the Churl that he's been a great fool to free her, for

* 'No book with a date being known from Awdeley's press after 1576.'—*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 156.

† See our edition of it, with Harman's *Caucat*, etc. E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series 1869.

she has, inside her, a wondrous *jagounce* stone which would have made him victorious in battle, given him plenty of treasure, kept him from all hurt, made every one love him, kept his heart light, etc. The Churl believes it all, feels his heart part in twain at the treasure he has thus lost, and bitterly laments that he has missed the chance of living like a king. Then the Bird comes back and mocks him, says it's all nonsense, and his dull wits have forgotten all her 3 wisdoms; she warned him not to believe every tale he heard, not to sorrow for things suddenly lost, not to covet what he couldn't recover. He's broken all three maxims, it's no good teaching a Churl terms of gentleness; and so she flies her way.

XXV. *The Seven Wise Masters*. This set of stories is better known to manuscript men by its verse title of "The Seven Sages," as Weber has printed it from the incomplete earliest English text in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D., with a head and tail from the later Cotton MS. Galba E. ix. —'The Proces of the Sevyng Sages,'—in his *Metrical Romances*, i. 1-153; and Mr. Thomas Wright has printed it from the MS. Dd. i. 17, in the Cambridge University Library, for the Percy Society, 1845, with a separate long Introduction, to which I must refer the reader. M. Paulin Paris and divers French and German critics have written on the subject since. The earliest English prose version known to us, —made from the early printed Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum** was printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Here begynneth thystorye of y^e. vii. Wyse Maisters of rome conteynyng ryght fayre & ryght ioyous narracions & to y^e reder ryght delectable. [Col.] Thus endeth the treatyse of the seuen sages or wyse maisters of Rome. Enprented in flet strete in y^e sygne of the sone by me Wynkyn de worde. [circa 1505.] 4to, black letter, 80 leaves. With several page woodcuts. Brit. Museum. (*Hazlitt*.) Incomplete. One cut is repeated for each tale of the Empress, and another cut for each tale of the Masters; but it's a pretty book.

The next is Wyllyam Copland's (? about 1550) at the sygne of the Rose Garland. Of two editions entered as licensed in the Stationers' Registers we know no copy: 1558 A.D. "Thomas marshe / Thomas marshe ys lycensed to prynte y^e pronostication of Lewes Vaughan; Bevyys of hampton; The vij wyse masters of Rome. [etc.] . . . xxxd," A.D. 1566, MS. leaf 141. "purfoote R of Thomas purfoote, for his lycense for pryncing of a boke intituled the vij masters of Rome &c. / vjd."

Mr. Hazlitt enters two early editions of a poetical version, but the second is not noticed in the Stationers' Register A, and the first is too early for it.

(a.) "Sage and prudente Saynges of the Seuen wyse Men, in English verse, by Robert Barrant, with a Comment. Lond. by Rich. Grafton, 1553. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

(b.) Lond. by John Tisdale, 1560. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

As Captain Cox could not have had the poetical version from the MSS. noticed above, and I don't know where any copy of Grafton's or Tisdale's edition is, we will assume that the Captain had the prose book, and sketch it as well as we can from the imperfect copy of Wynkyn de Worde's edition in the Museum.

When the wife of Poncianus, Emperor of Rome, dies, she beseeches her husband not to let the 2nd wife that he'll take, have any control over her son Dyoclesian.† She dies, and the Emperor gives his boy over to the care of Seven Wise Masters, 1. Pantyllas, 2. Lentulus, 3. Craton, 4. Malquydrac, 5. Josephus, 6. Cleophas, 7. not named. Then, urged by his lords, the Emperor marries again; but his second wife is childless, and therefore wishes and plots the death of his son Dyoclesian. *Leaf B; out.* The Empress gets the Emperor to send for his son. The youth (after 16 years' training) finds from the stars that unless he keeps dumb for seven days, he'll be killed; and so when Dyoclesian comes to the palace, he won't speak to his father. The Empress makes advances to him, and then falsely accuses him. The Emperor orders his son to be hanged, but his lords persuade him to put the youth in prison,

* Ellis's *Specimens*, p 409 (Bohn).

† In *Ellis*, the Emperor is Diocletian, and the son Florentin.

and have him tried. The Empress is angry at this, and by a tale (*Empress I.*) warns the Emperor that he'll meet with the fate of the burgess of Rome who (*leaf B 6 out*) had a tree with an 'imp' or sucker, had the old tree cut down to let the sucker grow, and when that was a tree, cut that down too. So Dyoclesian will cut down the Emperor. On this the Emperor orders Dyoclesian to be taken to execution; but as he's going there, Pantyllas stops him, and tells the Emperor a tale (*Masters I.*) of how a wife, not looking under an upset cradle for her child, persuaded her husband to kill his best greyhound, which had, in fact, upset the cradle while killing a serpent who was trying to bite the child. The Emperor respites his son for that day; but then the Empress tells him another tale that makes him order his son's death; and the next Master tells him another that makes him countermand it. So they go on till, after the seven days, Dyoclesian can speak, and expose his step-mother, who is then handed over to the law, to be judged to death. The tales or 'examples,' after the first on each side given above, are:

Empress II. The Boar and the Shepherd. An Emperor promises his only daughter to the man who'll kill a great boar. A shepherd tries to do it, climbs up a tree, and throws down fruit to the boar which it eats till it gets to sleep. Then the shepherd holds on to the tree with one hand, claws the boar's back with the other, and at last drives his knife into its heart.

Masters II. (leaf C 6 out.) The Husband out of doors. A burgess of Rome marries a fair proud well-born girl. At nights she leaves him when she thinks he's asleep, and goes to her lover. Now, as the Roman watch take up all persons found in the streets after curfew, put 'em in prison for the night, flog 'em, and set 'em in the pillory next day, the old husband one night locks his door while his wife's out, to let her get punished. She begs hard for admission, says she'll drown herself rather than be shamed, and then drops a big stone into a well. The old husband, taken-in by this, rushes down-stairs to the well, lamenting his drowned wife; but she slips indoors, locks the old man out, and there the watch catch him, and give him the customary punishment.

Empress III. The Father murdered by his son. A spendthrift knight gets his son to help him rob the Emperor Octavian's treasure, by digging a hole under the tower it's kept in. To catch the thief, the treasurer puts a vessel filled with pitch and gums into the hole. Father and son come again; the father falls into the vessel up to his neck, and tells his son to cut his head off, and then run home. The son does this. To find out the robber, his dead body is drawn through the streets. When his daughters see it, they shriek, and the officers rush up; but the son wounds his mouth, and declares his sisters shrieked at that. So they avoid discovery: the father's body is hung up, and the son doesn't bury it or his head.

Masters III. The Magpie. A merchant has a fair false wife, whose misdeeds his magpie tells him, and he upbraids her for them. One time that he is away, his wife lets in her lover, and the Magpie declares he'll tell his master. The wife gets up a ladder to the roof of the house, makes a hole in it, and pours sand, stones, and water, on the Magpie. When the merchant comes home, the Magpie tells him of his wife having her lover last night, when snow, hail and rain fell on the pie's back. The wife declares it's all a lie; the weather was quite fair. So too say all the neighbours; and so the merchant wrings the Magpie's neck. Then he sees the ladder, and pots of sand, stones, and water; and goes off sorrowing to the Holy Land. (See Wright's Domestic Manners, p. 241.)

Empress IV. The Emperor [Herodes, Ellis,] and Merlin.* An Emperor has 7 wise Masters who make him blind whenever he goes out of his palace, and who oppress his people, and charge them a florin apiece for every dream they interpret. At length the Emperor threatens the 7 Masters with

* This is the Empress's 6th tale in Ellis.

death unless they cure him. They can't do it, but, hearing a wise child, Merlin, interpret a dream truly, they take him to the Emperor. The child orders the Emperor's bedclothes etc. to be taken off, and there appears a well, with 7 springs, which are the 7 wise Masters. By Merlin's direction, the 7 Masters' heads are cut off, the springs and well vanish, and the Emperor regrets his sight.

Masters IV. The old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife. A wise old knight is persuaded to marry the fair young daughter of the Provost of Rome; but she meditates an amour with the Priest, as spiritual men keep such things more secret than laymen.* However, her mother persuades her to try her husband first, and see whether he'll put up with it. So, she tries him thrice, 1. she cuts down his favourite tree in his garden, 2. she kills his favourite greyhound before his eyes, 3. she pulls the tablecloth, at a feast they give their friends, and everything on it, off the table on to the ground. Then the old knight tames her; has a barber up, and makes him bleed her in both arms till she thinks she'll die; when she repents, and says 'The deuyll may the preest confounde and shame. I wyl neuer loue other but my husbonde.' See *Le Menagier*, i. 164-5.

Empress V. Is the story of Virgilius and his Images (above, p. 135) or *Cressus, the rich man*, as Ellis calls it: how 4 knights, enemies of Rome, persuade the Emperor to let them undermine Virgilius's tower and break his images; and how the Romans pour molten gold down the Emperor's throat, and are themselves all destroyed by their enemies. Another short incident is, how Virgil's light, and his hot and cold baths for the citizens, are destroyed.

Masters V. Hippocrates and his nephew (Ellis), or *Ypocras and Galienus*. The famous physician Ypocras has a clever nephew, Galienus, whom he teaches, and sends to the King of Ungary to cure his son. Having seen the child and felt its pulse—'tasted his pounces'—Galienus says the child is not the King's son. The Queen says it is, and threatens the doctor; but is at last obliged to confess that the Kyng of Burgondyen is its father. Then Galienus can prescribe for it, gives it 'to ete, beef, or of an oxe to drynke,' cures it, goes home, and tells Ypocras what he has done. The old Uncle, filled with envy, gets Galienus to stoop to pick a herb, and kills him. After that, Ypocras falls sick unto death, and dies because his nephew is not there to help him.

Empress VI. The Emperor and his Steward's Wife. A very ugly Emperor resolves to attack Rome, and take away the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul. He also wants a fair woman as concubine, and offers his steward £1000 to get him one. The steward, to get the money, takes his own Wife to the Emperor, who likes her so much that he won't let her go again; and when the Steward confesses she's his own wife, the Emperor banishes him. Then the Emperor proposes to attack Rome, but 6 of the Wise Masters dissuade him from it for 6 days; and on the 7th, the 7th Master clothes himself in a marvellous vesture of peacocks' and other birds' tails, and stands on the highest tower with 2 bright swords in his mouth. The Emperor and his host take the Master for 'Jhésus, the god of y^e crysten folke,' flee, and are nearly all killed by the Romans.

Masters VI. The Murderous Knight and his Wife. A poor knight has a fair young wife who sings well, and accepts the love of 3 knights who are to give her 100 florins each. She then persuades her husband to let them in at the gate one after the other, at different times, take their money, and cut off their heads. Then the trouble is to get rid of the bodies. Her brother is governor of the watch at Rome, and she makes up a story to him, that her husband quarrelled with a friend and killed him. The brother takes the corpse in a sack, and throws it into the sea. But no sooner has he got back to

* See *Le Menagier de Paris*, vol. i. p. 161. "Mères," dit la fille, "j' aimeray le chapellain de cesta villa, car prestres et religieus craignent honte, et sont plus secrets. Je ne voudroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et gaberoit de moy et me demanderoit mes gages à engager."

his sister's, than she says, "The knight you cast into the sea has come back again," and so she makes him get rid of the 2nd corpse, and then the 3rd. To make sure of the 3rd, her brother burns it; and when he afterwards sees a strange knight warming himself at the fire, he thinks it is the corpse come to life a 4th time, and therefore throws the knight and his horse into the fire. After a time the wife and her husband fall out, and he smites her. She waxes angry, and says 'O wretche! wyll ye kyll me as ye haue done the thre knyghtes? This is over-heard; and the husband and wife are found out, 'drawen atte an horse tayll, and hanged vppon the galowes.'

Empress VII. The two Dreams, or the King that didn't know his own Wife.* A king loves his wife so, that he locks her up in a strong castle, and keeps the key himself. She and a knight in far parts each dream of the other, whom neither has seen that other. The knight searches for and finds the Queen; she throws him a letter; he does valiant deeds at her husband's court, gets his leave to build a place near his tower, and has a secret passage made into it. There the Queen yields to him, and gives him a ring that the King had given her. This the King sees one day; and the knight has to sham ill, and get home to the Queen and give her back the ring, to prevent being found out. Then the knight gets the Queen to dress up in foreign clothes as his love, and entertains the King at a feast; and secondly, the knight gets the King to give the Queen away to him as his bride at his wedding. The wedded couple set sail; and the King discovers the trick, but too late.

Masters VIII. A loving knight dies of distress at having accidentally cut his wife's finger. She at first pretends to be very sorry, and refuses comfort; but afterwards, to make another knight marry her,—a sheriff who has let some one steal a thief's body from the gallows,—helps to take up her husband's corpse, and then mangles it frightfully—knocks its teeth out, wounds its head, and cuts off its ears.—Then she claims fulfilment of the sheriff's promise to marry her; but he reproaches her, and cuts her head off.

After this Dyoclesyan exposes his step-mother's adultery, and her attempt to corrupt him; she is left to the law; and Dyoclesyan tells a concluding tale or Example:

Dyoclesyan's Tale. The Two Friends: Alexander and Lodowyke.† A knight had a son whom he gave up to a master of a far country to teach. When the son came back, a nightingale sang, and the Father askt his boy to tell him what the bird said. 'That I shall become a great lord; my father shall bring water to wash my hands, and my mother shall hold my towel.' For this the father throws the boy into the sea; but he swims to a land, is pickt up by a ship, and sold to a Duke, with whom he grows into favour. Three Ravens follow the King of this Duke wherever he goes, and he offers his daughter and realm to whoever will rid him of the Ravens. The boy tells him that the Ravens have a dispute: they are father, mother, and child. In a time of famine, the mother left the child and flew away, while the father stopt with it and fed it; yet now the mother wants the child; so does the father: which is to have it? If the King gives right judgment, the Ravens will trouble him no more. The King gives judgment for the father, and is free of his pests. The boy, Alexander, stays with the king (of Egypt) for a time, then goes to the court of the great Emperor Tytus. There he is made Carver; and Lodowyke, the king of France's son, who is very like Alexander, but weaker, is made cupbearer. Lodowyke falls violently in love with Florentyne, Tytus's daughter; and Alexander makes her such rich presents for his friend, that she lets Lodowyke be her lover in secret. The young Alexander is then called home by the death of the king of Egypt, and Guydo, son of the King of Spain, is appointed

* In Ellis, this is made the Wise Masters' 7th story.

† Compare the Prince's Tale in Ellis. The present one comprises that and another old story.

Carver in his place. Guydo soon finds out, and tells the Emperor of, Lodowyke's intrigues with his daughter. Lodowyke denies it, and challenges Guydo; but as he is weak, and Guydo strong, Florentyne bids him go to Alexander. He does so, and finds Alexander preparing for his marriage, and unable to put it off; but as Guydo must be fought, Alexander leaves Lodowyke to personate him, and marry his bride, while he goes back to fight Guydo. This is done accordingly. Alexander, after a hard struggle, cuts off Guydo's head, and explains his victory to the Emperor by the fact that God always favours the innocent. Lodowyke marries Alexander's bride, but lays a naked sword between her and himself at night. Then Alexander returns, but his wife has given her love to another old lover, and with him concocts a poison for Alexander, which nearly kills him, and does turn him into a leper. Then they dethrone him, and he goes, as a leprous beggar, to Lodowyke, who, by the death of his father and Tytus, has become Emperor of Rome and France. For Alexander's sake, Lodowyke lets the leprous beggar eat before him, and drink out of his own cup; and when the beggar makes himself known, Lodowyke treats him with the greatest kindness. It is then revealed to Lodowyke, that by killing his twin sons, and washing Alexander in their blood, he can cure him. Lodowyke at once cuts his boys' throats, and heals Alexander, and then sends him some way off, that he may come again as a visitor to him. Florentyne is overjoyed to see Alexander; and when Lodowyke asks her whether, if Alexander had been like the leprous beggar, she'd give her twins' lives to cure him, she says 'Yes! ten sons if I had them. We owe our lives and all our happiness to him!' Lodowyke then tells her that her boys are dead; but notwithstanding they are soon found, singing praises to the Virgin, with a gold thread round their throats where the knife cut. Lodowyke restores Alexander to his kingdom of Egypt, burns to powder his wife and her paramour, and gives him his own sister in marriage. Then Alexander, as King of Egypt, visits his father and mother; his father holds the basin and water for him, and his mother holds the towel; and he reminds them of the nightingale's song, and their son, who he is.

Dyoclesian's father offers to give him up his Empire; but he refuses it, helps his father till he dies, and then reigns long and happily. On the history and sources of this Romance of the Seven Sages, see the Introduction to it in Ellis; the preliminary Essay in Warton's *History of English Poetry*; Mr. T. Wright's Preface or Essay for the Percy Society; M. Paulin Paris, etc., on the French *Dolopathos*; besides numerous Germans.

XXVI. *The Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin*. This is an interesting and amusing old poem on the Charming or Taming of a Shrew, long before Shakspeare's famous play, of which the quarto edition bears date 1594. The only old edition now known is,

Here begynneth a merry Jeste of a shrewde and curste Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles skin, for her good behauiour. Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete, benethe the Conduite, at the signe of Saint John Euangelist, by H. Jackson. (No date, 4to, 23 leaves).

Modern reprints are Mr. Utterson's, in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*. 1817; Mr. T. Amyot's for the Shakespeare Society, 1844; Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's, in his excellent *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iv. p. 179-226, A.D. 1866. The Poem tells, in 1114 lines, how a good meek man had a curst wife—that is, one with the devil's own temper—and two daughters, one meek like himself, and the other curst like her mother; how the meek daughter got well married; and how, notwithstanding the father's strong warnings, a young man would marry the curst daughter. The courtship, the getting the mother's consent, as well as the girl's and the father's, the wedding-feast, first night and next morning, are all capitally told. The new couple begin business, and everything goes well till the curst bride falls foul of her husband's servants, and then, on his reproving her, abuses him violently. He, much grieved, rides away to let his wife's temper blow over; but when he comes back, she abuses him worse than before.

So he has his blind old horse, Morell, killed and flayed; salts the skin that it mayn't stink, and gets a stock of new birch brooms. Then he asks her whether she will be master: she swears she will, and hits him; on which he catches her up, and locks her in the cellar. There they have a regular wrestling-match; he throws her, tears her smock off her back, and lays into her well with a rod in each hand till she bleeds freely and swoons. Then he wraps her in old Morell's salted hide, which makes her smart; and he declares he'll keep her in it all her life. On this, she promises to amend, and obey him; and he promises never to hurt her again. Her sores are soon cured; and, to test her, her husband gives a feast to his father- and mother-in-law, and friends, and makes his wife wait on them. This she dutifully does, to her mother's great disgust. The mother abuses her son-in-law for his cruelty, and vows she'll see his heart's blood for it. But he tells the old woman that if she doesn't keep quiet, he'll make her dance too, and put her in old Morell's hide. She thinks he means what he says, and gets out of the house as soon as dinner is done. All the neighbours hold that the bridegroom has done right; and, says the author unknown,

He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
Better then thus,
Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound
And a golden purse.

XXVII. *The Sak full of Nucz.* This story-book or jest-book was licensed to John Kynge, with two other books, in 1557-8, "a sacke full of newes" (Stat. Reg. A, leaf 22; *Collier*, i. 3). It was afterwards Awdeley's, and then licensed to John Charlwood on 15 Jan. 1581-2, and to Edward White on 5 Sept. 1586 (*Collier*, ii. 155, 215) but the earliest edition now known is, says Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, that of 1673; from which Mr. Halliwell reprinted it in 1861, and Mr. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Old English Jest Books*, second series, p. 163. It is a collection of 22 tales, of which Mr. Hazlitt has in his edition suppressed two, as being too gross for publication. I take a sample at random, from p. 173-4. "There was a priest in the country which had christned a child; and when he had christned it, he and the clark were bidden to the drinking that should be there; and thither they went with other people; and being there, the priest drunk, and made so merry, that he was quite foxed, and thought to go home before he laid him down to sleep. But having gone a little way, he grew so drousie that he could go no further, but laid him down by a ditch side, so that his feet did hang in the water, and, lying on his back, the Moon shined in his face. Thus he lay, till the rest of the company came from drinking; who, as they came home, found the priest lying as aforesaid, and they thought to get him away; but, do what they could, he would not rise, but said: 'do not meddle with me, for I lie very well, and will not stir hence before morning: but, I pray, lay some more cloathes on my feet, and blow out the candle, and let me lie and take my rest.'"

XXVIII. *The Scargeaunt that became a Fryar.* This is a jocose poem of 288 lines, said to be by Sir Thomas More, and printed in the posthumous 1557 edition of his English *Workes*. An earlier edition of it, "A mery Gest how a Sergeaunt wolde lerne to be a Frere" was "Enprynted at London by me, Julyan Notary, dwellyng in Powlys churche yarde, at the weste dore, at the synge of saynt Marke," no date, 4to, black letter, 4 leaves; and another edition was "Imprinted at London by Rycharde Jhones," also without date, in 4to, in one little volume with, but after, *The Mylner of Abyngdon*.* From this edition of Jhones's, collated with that in Sir T. More's *Workes*, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the poem in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 119-129. The moral of the tale is, that a man who has been brought up to one trade shouldn't take to another, but stick to his own business. A young spendthrift drinks

* "A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abyngdon, with his wife, and his fayre daughter, and of two pore scholers of Cambridge. Where-vnto is adioyned another merye jest of a Sargeaunt that would have learned to be a Fryar." 4to, 14 leaves. The *Mylner* is not by Andrew Boorde.

away all the money his father has left him, and then borrows more, right and left, which he squanders 'in mirth and play.' Then he goes to 'Saint Katherine'—wherever that may be,—and defies his creditors. One of them asks a Serjeant how to proceed; and the Serjeant undertakes to arrest the Debtor. The Serjeant accordingly disguises himself as a Friar, gets admission to the Debtor's room, and there tries to arrest him. But the Debtor knocks the Serjeant down, and they have a regular fight. At last 'the maide and wife' of the place come up, and beat the Friar-Serjeant about the noll and crown 'till he was well nighe slaine.' Then they throw him headlong down stairs; and the author counsels every man, "His own crafte use; all newe refuse."

XXIX. *Skogan*. On this old collection of Jests, which is attributed to Andrew Boorde, I have commented in my Forewords to Boorde's *Introduction and Dyetary* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1870. I do not believe it to be Boorde's work, though "many of the Jests turn on doctors and medicine . . . and many are concerned with Oxford life, which we assume Boorde to have passed through. Read the Prologue to the *Jests*."

"There is nothing beside the goodness of God, that preserves health so much as honest mirth used at dinner and supper, and mirth towards bed, as it doth plainly appear in the Directions for Health: therefore considering this matter, that mirth is so necessary for man, I publish this Book, named *The Jests of Scogin*, to make men merry: for amongst divers other Books of grave matters I have made, my delight had been to recreate my mind in making something merry; wherefore I do advertise every man, in avoiding pensiveness, or too much study or melancholy, to be merry with honesty in God, and for God, whom I humbly beseech to send us the mirth of Heaven, Amen.

"*Scogin's Jests*, an idle thing unjustly fathered upon Dr. Boorde, have been often printed in Duck Lane," says Anthony a Wood, *Ath. Oxon*, i. 172. The first edition known to us is in the Bodleian, A.11. 1613; the second is in the British Museum: "The first and best parts of Scoggins Iests: full of witty Mirth and pleasant Shifts done by him in France and other Places; being a Preseruatiue against Melancholy. Gathered by An. Boord, Dr. of Physicke. London, F. Williams, 1626." Lowndes names an earlier edition in black letter, undated. The work was licensed to Colwel in 1566.* (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* i. 120). We see that Laneham doesn't give *Skoggan* to "Doctor Boord," as he does the *Brcuiary of Hcalth*. "A. B." may be Any Body, and some of the stories are old ones put into Scogin's mouth, like the following from the edition of 1796, which is altered a little from one in *The Seven Sages* (No. XXV, p. 147. above), and *Le Menagier de Paris*, 1393, p. 158-65.

How Scogin caused his wife to be let blood.

After that Scogin's wife had played this prank, she used so long to go a gossiping, that if her husband had spoken any word contrary to her mind, she would crow against him, that all the street should ring of it. Scogin thought it was time to break his wife of such matters, and said to her, "I wish you would take other ways, or else I will displease you." "Displease me!" said she, "beware that you do not displease yourself!" "yea," said Scogin, "I will see that one day, how you will displease me:" she still continued her approbrious words: at last, Scogin called her into a chamber, and took one of his servants with him, and said to her, "Dame, you have a little hot and proud blood about your heart, and in your stomach; and if it be not let out, it will infect you and many more; therefore be content; there is no remedy but that blood must be let out:" "I defie thee," said Scogin's wife, and was up in the house top: "yea!" said he: "come," said Scogin to his servant, "and let us bind her to this form." She scratched and clawed them by the faces, and spurned them with her feet so long, that she

* *Ib.* p. 31.

was weary: so at the last she was bound hand and foot to a form. "Now," said Scogin to his servant, "go fetch a chyrurgeon, or a barber that can let blood." The servant went and brought a surgeon. Scogin said to him, "sir, it is so, that my wife is mad, and doth rave; and I have been with physicians, and they have councelled me to let her blood: she hath infectious blood about the heart, and I would have it out:" "sir," said the chyrurgeon, "it shall be done." Scogin said, "she is so mad, she is bound to a form;" "the better for that," said the surgeon: when Scogin and the surgeon entered into the chamber, she made an exclamation upon Scogin. Then said Scogin, "you may see that my wife is mad; I pray you let her bleed both in the arm and the foot, and under the tongue:" Scogin and his man held out her arm, and they opened a vein named Cardica. When she had bled well, "now stop that vein," said Scogin, "and let her blood under the foot." When she saw that, "sir, said she, forgive me, and I will never displease you hereafter:" "well," said Scogin, "if you do so, then I do think it shall be best for us both." By this tale is proved, that it is a shrewd hurt that maketh the body fare the worse, and an unhappy house where the woman is master.

There are 59 anecdotes of Scogin and his tricks in the edition of 1796; but the one above will perhaps be enough for the reader.

XXX. *Collyn Clout*. This is the well-known vigorous satire of Skelton,* poet-laureat to Henry VIII, against the pride and ill deeds of Cardinal Wolsey,† the clergy, monks, and friars; the neglect of learning and politics by the nobles, and the anti-church and heretical spirit among the commonalty. It was edited by Mr. Dyce in his *Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 1843, vol. i. p. 311-360, from three old editions, and the only manuscript known, in the Harleian MS. 2252, leaf 147. Here are the opening lines from that manuscript:—

Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 147.

quis resurgat Ad Malyngnantes? aut quis stabit mecum aduersus
operantes iniquitatem? nemo, domine!

Whate Can hyt Avayle		he Cryethe, he Crekythe,	
To dryve forthe A snayle.		he priethe, he prekythe,	20
or to make A Sayle.		he Chydethe, he Chaters,	
of an heryng tayle?	4	he pratythe, he patyrs,	
to Ryme or to Rayle,		he Cleteryth, he claters,	
to wryte or to endyte.		he medelythe, he smaters,	24
eythyr for to endyte		he glosythe, he Flaters;	
or else for to desyte,	8	or yf he speke playne,	
or bokis to comyle		Then he lackythe brayne;	
of dyvers maner of style,		he ys but A foole;	28
vycis to revyle,		lett hym go to scole,	
& syn† for to exile,	12	on A iij ^e fotyde stole	
To teche or to preche		That he may downe sytte,	
as Reason wolde reherse!		for he lackythe wytte;	32
say thus or say that,		& yff that he hytte	
hys hede ys so § fatte,	16	The nayle on the hede,	
& saythe he wott not whate,		hyt stondythe in no stede:	
nor wherof he spekythe:		The devyll, they sey, ys dede.	36

* I assume that it is not Barnes's skit against Andrew Boorde for his attack on beards,—“The treatyse answerynge the boke of Berdes, compyled by *Collyn Clowte*, dedycatyd to Barnarde barber, dwellyng in Banbery” (1542 or 1543?), reprinted at the end of my edition of *Boorde's Introduction* etc. 1870, p. 305-316.

† Skelton's special satire against Wolsey is his “*Why come ye nat to Courte?*” Works, ed. Dyce, ii. 26. Compare Roy's bitterer satire against the Cardinal, *Rede me and be not wroth*, 1527; and the *Impeachment of Wolsey* in my ‘Ballads from Manuscripts,’ Pt. 2, Ballad Soc. 1871.

‡ The final ens and ems have curls over their backs.

§ MS. fo.

|| MS. stondydythe.

hyt may so welle be.		for thowe my Ryme be Ragge[d]	52
or else they wolde see		Tateryde & Iaggyde,	
hotherwyse, & flee		Rvdely Rayne-betyn,	
From worldly vanyte,	40	Rusty & mothe-etyn,	
& fowlle Covetosnes,		And yf thow take well that wythe,	56
& hother wrechydnes,		hyt hathe in hyt sam pythe;	
And fykyll falsenes,		for, as fer as I Can see,	
& varyabulnes	44	hyt ys wronge wyl eche degre;	
wyl vnstedfastnes:		for the Temporalte	60
And yf they stonde in dowe		Accusythe the spyrytualte;	
whoo browghte this Ryme Abowte,		The spirytualti Agayne	
My name ys Colyn Clowte,	48	dothe groge & complayne	
And [I] purpose to shake owte		vypon the Temporall men:	64
all my Connyng Bagge,		Thys,* eche wyl hothyr blen,	
lyke A clarkely hagge;		The tone ayenste that hother.	

Laymen say the Prelates are so haughty, they take no heed to feed their sheep, but only to pluck their wool. The Bishops pervert justice, creep within noble walls to fatten their bodies, disdain to preach, and have little wit in their heads; but two or three are good men, though hen-hearted; they daren't reform abuses, are loth to hang the bell round the cat's neck, and have forgotten Becket's example. Other spiritual fathers hunt, hawk, fornicate, sell the grace of the Holy Ghost, eat flesh in Lent; many are 'bestiall and untaught,' drunken, can't construe their lessons, haunt ale-houses, adulterize with women, can hardly read. Mitres are bought and sold, simony prevails; Bishops ride mules with golden trappings and stirrups, all richly clad, and grind poor Gil and Jack.

See what lies the people tell of you! Isn't it sad? They say you Clergy and Monks pillage the people, and pervert the laws; that Abbesses and Prioresses are as bad; and that it's all the fault of the Bishops, who turn monasteries into mills, and abbeys into granges, to get money to spend among wanton lasses and live in luxury. Except you mend, you'll have a fall; sour saucc after sweet meat!

But I must denounce also those laymen who labour to bring the Church to the ground. Some argue against the Sacraments, Predestination, Christ's manhood, &c.; and, when good ale's in their foretop, rail against priestly dignities. Some have a smack of Luther's heresy, of Wycliffe's, of Huss's; and say the clergy have much; also that they can't keep their wives from them.

Isn't it too bad that the layman talk of how Prelacy is sold and bought; how men of low degree are made prelates, and forget all humility? Yes, you Prelates are so puffed up with pride that no man may abide you! you lord it over lords, and those of royal blood; and you boast and brag! If our lords did but understand how learning would help them, they'd pipe you another dance! But alas, they scorn Learning, do but hunt and hawk,† care nothing for politics; and therefore have to crouch to you. Well do the commonalty call you prelates 'Idols of Babylon,' proud upstarts from the dung-cart, you who *now* reign and rule, and late lay your drowsy heads in lowsy beds! But mind your foot doesn't slip, and you go to the devil! You are blinded by flatterers! Why don't you rouse yourselves, and be lights to the people?

Now, teaching's only to be got from some poor clerk with but 10*£* a year, or some Friar. And it's your work; you should do it! What good can drunken old Doctor Dawpate teach, or a Friar that must preach to get money, and who sets people against their own clergy? You Bishops are so tainted with covetousness and ambition that you lead not your flocks. Laymen call you Barrels of Gluttony and Hypocrisy! All is fish that comes to your net! You build fine palaces, painted with loose heathen

* Thus.

† See my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, and to *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, &c. Also, especially, *Starkey's Dialogue*, Pt. 2, p. 182-6 (E. E. Text Soc. 1871 (Extra Series)).

tales of lusty Venus and naked Diana, and "naked boyes strydyng, with wanton wenches winkyng." Yet [Wolsey!] beware of a Queen's yelling! It's a busy thing for one man to rule a King! (l. 899-992). Some of you have so checkmated great lords lately, that the rest dare do nothing except it please the "one that ruleth the roste alone" (l. 1021). No one can get at the King except through our President. But mind, man, you don't get cast into the mire! Seek sound footing; give up at once all your wrong schemes! And don't murmur at me, Colyn Clout, for my writing: I write not against the good, but only the bad. Therefore let all, clergy or lay, who feel my reproof, amend. Don't be high and mighty, and order me off to the Fleet or the Tower! Don't say, 'See how the villain calls us Clergy shameless and merciless, incorrigible and insatiate, full of partiality, turning right into wrong!' Drop your threats of sawing, hanging, slaying, beating, those who go against your will, you who will not

. . . suffre this boke
By hoke ne by croke
Prynted for to be,*
For that no man shulde se
Nor rede in any scrolles
Of theyr dronken nollis,

Nor of theyr noddy polles,
Nor of theyr sely soules,
Nor of some wytles pates
Of dyuers great estates,
As well as other men.

(l. 1239-1249, *Works*, vol. i. p. 359.)

May our Saviour Jesus send us grace to set right the things that are amiss, when His pleasure is!

Southey has well said of Skelton: "The power, the strangeness, the volubility of his language, the audacity of his satire, and the perfect originality of his manner, made Skelton one of the most extraordinary writers of any age or country." His *Colyn Cloute* gave rise, in 1533 or 1534, to even a fiercer diatribe against the whole crew of Clergy, Monks, and Friars: *The Image of Ypocresye*, edited from the unique copy in the Lansdowne MS. 794, by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton's Poetical Works* ii. 413, and by me, with an Introduction, in my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, Vol. i. p. 167-274 (Ballad Society 1868).

Of old printed editions of *Colyn Cloute*, Mr. Dyce and Mr. Hazlitt between them note the following:—

q 1. "Here after foloweth a lytell boke called collyn clout, compyled by mayster Skelton, poete Laureate.

Quis consurgat mihi adversum malignantes &c. Cum privilegio regali.

[Colophon] Imprynted at London by Thomas Godfrey. Cum privilegio regali," 8vo. black letter. D in eights, the first and last leaves blank; at Woburn Abbey, the only copy known.

2. Colophon: "Imprinted at London by me Rycharde Kele dwellyng in the powltry at the long shop under saynt Myldredes chyrche," 12mo. no date. 30 leaves. Henry Huth Esq. has a copy.

"An edition by Kele, 4to. n. d. is mentioned in *Typogr. Antiq.* iv. 305, ed. Dibdin: but qy.?" says Mr. Dyce.

3. Colophon: "Imprinted at London in Paules Church yearde at the Sygne of the Rose by John Wyghte," 12mo, no date, b. l., D 6 in eight, or 30 leaves; in the British Museum.

4. Col. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Wallye dwelling in Fosterlane," [? about 1550]. 8vo. b. l. 30 leaves. A copy without the title-page was sold among Mr. Jolley's books in 1844.

5. a. Col. "Imprynted at London in Paules Church Yard at the Sygne of the Sunne by Anthony Kytson." 32 leaves; in the British Museum.

* Some of the allusions in the Poem may have been introduced into it after it was first written.

b. Colophon in some copies:—"Imprynted at London in Paules Church ye yerde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Veale." 12mo., n. d., 32 leaves, the first and last blank; in the British Museum.

6. In "Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poet Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published. Anno 1568. Imprinted at London in Fletestreate, neare vnto saint Dunstones church by Thomas Marshe" 12mo., the 15th piece is "Colyn Clout."

XXXI. *The Fryar and the Boy*. This merry and most popular poem has been printed at least 3 times in modern days from Manuscripts: 1. by Mr. Thomas Wright in his series of Early English Poems, 1836, from a MS at Cambridge; 2. by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Warton Club 1855, in "Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse from the Porkington MS.," p. 46-62, in 426 lines; 3. by Mr. Hales and myself in '*Bp. Percy's Folio MS: Loose and Humourous Songs*,' p. 9-28; which is the completest copy, though imperfect, in 507 lines.

Of old printed editions we have 1. Wynkyn de Worde's not dated, in 4to, black letter, 7 leaves: "Here begynneth a mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye." This was reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 54-81, with collations from the next edition, and contains 480 lines, in 6-line stanzas up to l. 456, and in 4-line stanzas to the end. 2. Edward Allde's in 4to, about 1585, says Mr. Hazlitt: if so, after Captain Cox's time; but the two following editions, of which no copies have yet been catalogued, are licensed in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 22; *Collier*, p. 1:—

[1557-8] To mr. John Wally these bokes, called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the frere and the boye stans puer ad mensom;* a nother, youghte, charyte, and humylyte;† an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundredth mery tayles‡ . . . ijs.

[1568-9] *Receival* of Jonn Alde for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the Freer and the boye . . . iiijd.

Later, a second Part was added to the story, and it became a common chap-book. The reader should consult Mr. T. Wright's preface to his edition of 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's to his of 1866.

The story of the poem is one of a boy, little Jack, whom his stepmother spites. She gets his father to make him tend the cattle, and gives him such bad food that he can't eat it. The boy gives the food to an old hungry man, and he in return grants the boy three wishes: 1. a Bow that'll always hit the mark; 2. a Pipe that'll make every one who hears it, dance; 3. that his Stepmother, whenever she looks spitefully at him, shall 'a rap let go.' At nightfall the cattle follow Little Jack's pipe; and he goes home, asks his father for some supper, and gets a capon's wing, at which his stepmother scowls. The 3rd wish is fulfilled, and she has to look good-tempered; but she asks a Friar whom she loves, to revenge her. Next day the Friar goes to beat the boy; but Little Jack shoots a bird for him, and when he goes into the briars to fetch it, Jack pipes up, and makes the Friar dance till he's scratcht so that he bleeds fast. Then he vows he'll not touch Jack if he'll stop the pipe; and the boy lets him go tattered and bleeding home. At night the Stepmother complains to Jack's father, and he insists on hearing the Pipe. The Friar is bound to a post to stop his being obliged to dance; but when Jack begins, the Friar knocks his pate against the post, and Father, Stepmother, and every one near, dance through the streets, some rushing naked out of their beds to join in. When Jack's tired, he stops; and here the original story ended, I believe, as the Porkington MS. does, with a moral; but the Percy and De Worde copies gives us a second scene, of the Friar summoning Jack before the Official or Archdeacon, for witchcraft. The Stepmother joins in, but is made to stand mute. Then the Official orders Jack to play up; which he does, and a mad scene follows,—judgc, proctors, summoners, prisoners, etc., all dancing and smashing against one another.—At last, the Official promises to forgive Jack if he'll stop his Pipe, and he does so.

* See No. XXXVIII.

† See No. XLVIII below.

‡ See No. XLIII.

XXXII. *Elynor Rummyng.* This is a most life-like picture by Skelton of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII, and of a drinking bout by country women at her inn. The coarse loose life of the time is painted with a faithfulness of a Dutch painter, and with a most powerful and humourous hand. The scene is laid by Skelton on a hill in Surrey, in a certain stead beside Leatherhead; but tradition has it, that 'Elynour on the hyll' dwelt at the foot of glorious chalk Boxhill, on the road from Leatherhead to Dorking—that hill which we Sunday walkers from the Working Men's College used to know so well, in storm of snow, fresh green of spring, parch of summer, and golden stretch of autumn at its foot, with the after tongues of flame-red leaves shooting up its dark-green Burford sides.—The place is alive with beauties of nature, and memories of distinguished men and happy days. But it's a coarse picture that Skelton sets before us, repulsive to any one who doesn't care to know how people really lived in 'the good old times' when Mr. Froude tells us working men were, in the main, so much better off than they are now.

Elynour herself is scurvy and lowsy, slaver running from her lips, and dropping from her nose; blear-eyed, jawed like a jetty, footed like a plane, and legged like a crane. Her customers are no better: Kate, Cysly, and Sare, with their legs bare, their feet full unsweet, their kirtles all jagged, their smocks all ragged.

The hogs come and dirt in the house, the hens in the mash tub, which Elynour skims with her mangy fists—or doesn't.—Some women pay coin for their ale; some a coney, or honey, a salt-cellar, spoon, hose, a pot, meal, a wedding ring, a husband's hood or cap, flax or tow, distaff or spinning wheel, thread, yarn, piece of bacon, &c.; all *must* have ale. Then they gossip and drink, in very coarse fashion, etc. Then another and another lot of women come, who pledge all kinds of things for ale; then drink, and tumble about. Among them, a pretended witch, and stubby-leg'd Margery Mylkeducke, are described, and a prickmedainty quiet dame (? a nun) who pledges her beads for her ale . . .

. . . my fyngers ytche:
I haue written to mytche
Of this mad mummynge
Of Elynour Rummynge.

Thus endeth the gest
Of this worthy fest,
Quod Skelton, Laureat.

No separate old printed edition of this poem is known. It occurs in a collection of some of Skelton's works:

1. "Here after foloweth certaine bokes *compyled* by mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat, whose names here after shall appere.

Speake Parot.

The death of the noble Prynce Kynge Edward the fourth.

A treatyse of the Scottes.

Ware the Hawke.

The Tunnyng of Elynoure Rummyng."

[And 5 Minor Poems.]

Colophon. "Thus endeth these lytle workes *compyled* by maister Skelton, Poet Laureat. Im-
prynted at London, in Crede Lane, by John Kynge and Thomas Marche." 12mo, no date.

2. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Day." 12mo, no date.

3. "Printed at London by Richard Lant, for Henry Tab, dwelling in Pauls church-yard, at the sygne of Judith." 12mo, no date.

4. Mr. Dyce says 'An edition printed for W. Bonham, 1547, 12mo, is mentioned by Warton, *Hist. of E. Poetry*, ii. 336 (note) ed. 4to.

XXXIII. *The Nutbrown Maid*. 'One of the most exquisite pieces of late Mediæval poetry,' rightly says Mr. Hales in the *Percy Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, iii. 174, where a poor shortened copy of the poem is printed in the text, and a full copy, from Richard Hill's MS. at Balliol, in the notes.

In answer to the reproach that woman's love is utterly decayed, the Nutbrown Maid records "that they love true, and doe continue." Her lover—a squire of low degree—comes to her, a Baron's daughter, and tells her that he is a banisht man; he must either die, or take to an outlaw's life in the greenwood, alone. She says 'I love but you alone.' He tells her that she'll soon get over it, and forget him; but she declares she is ready to go with him, she loves but him alone. Then he tries to dissuade her: if she goes, people will say it's to fulfill her wanton will; she'll have to bear a bow, and live as a thief; if he's hung, there'll be no one to help her; if not, she must endure thorns, snow, rain, and heat, lodge on the bare ground, get no dinner, ale, or wine, have no sheets but leaves and boughs; must cut her hair to her ears, and her kirtle to her knees, and fight for him, if need be. But always she says 'I love but you alone.' Then her Lover tries another tack: woman are soon hot, soon cold; soon she'll change too. Then what a cursed deed it were for a baron's child to be fellow with an outlaw. But still she says she'll risk all for him: 'I love but you alone.' Comes the hardest trial: the Lover says he has another fairer maid than she, whom he loves better. But still comes the sweet iteration, 'I love but you alone;' for his sake she'll wait on paramours, one or a hundred. The proof is over; the Lover clasps his own dear love; he is no banisht man, but the Earl of Westmoreland's son, and will wed her as soon as he can.

Here may ye see, that woman be
in love, meke, kynd, & stable.
Lett never men reprove them then,
yf they be charytable,
But rather pray God that we may
to them be comfortable. . .

The reader should turn to the poem itself again; no doubt he knows it well. It runs with the Squire of Low Degree, p. xxiv. above. The first printed edition of it is in Arnold's Chronicle (at sig. N 6,) 'which is supposed to have appeared at Antwerp, from the press of John Doesborcke, about 1502.' The 2nd edition of Arnold was in 1521; to the 3rd edition no date has been assigned. From the first two editions Mr. Thomas Wright printed the Nutbrown Maid in his set of Early English poems in 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted this text in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 271-94. Mr. T. Wright says "I am told that in a manuscript of University College, Oxford, there is a list of books on sale at a stall in that city in 1520, among which is the 'Not-broon Mayd,' price one penny." I wrote to the Librarian of University to ask if this list existed, and his substitute said he believed not. On leaf 31 of the Stationers' Register A (*Collier* i. 16) we find an entry

John Kynge ys fyned for that he ded prynt the nutbrowne mayde without lycense ijs. vjd.

We have now finisht Captain Cox's "matters of storie"—thirty-three of the famous books of Elizabeth's early time,—and turn to the "philosophy both morall and naturall: beside poetrie, and astronomie, and oother hid sciences."

XXXIV. *The Shepherd's Kalender*. Translated from *Le compost et Kalendrier des Bergers*; and of this handbook of Popular Philosophy, including 'astronomy, ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography,' many editions before Captain Cox's time have come down to us.

1. The Kalendayr of The Shyppars. [Colophon] Heyr endyth the kalendar of shyppars, translatyt of french in englysh, to the lowyng of almyghty god, & of hys glorious mother mary, and

of the holy cowrt of hywyn: prentyt *in* parys the .xxiii. day of iuyng, oon thowsand .ccccc & III. Folio, A to M, in eights. With woodcuts. An unique copy at Althorp, imperfect.

2. Printed by Julian Notary, about 1502, in folio, with woodcuts, many of which Dibdin has copied in his edition of Herbert.

3. A copy without printer's name or date, in the Bodleian; but probably from Pynson's press. See *Dibdin's Ames*, ii. 526.

4. Robert Copland's translation, printed by Pynson in 1506,* folio, with woodcuts. An imperfect copy is at Althorp.

5. Robert Copland's new translation printed by himself, under Wynkyn de Worde's name, Dec. 8, 1508. No. 6 in Dibdin's list.

6. Wynkyn de Worde. 24 January, 1528. (No. 8 in Dibdin's list.)

7. The Kalender 'newely augmented and corrected.' Imprynted by Wyllyam Powell A.D. 1556.

8. An edition of 1559, newly augmented and corrected, is noted in *Ames*. ii. 735 from the Catalogue of Benet (Corpus) Coll. Library, Cambridge, p. 208 etc.

9. An undated edition by John Waley 'newly augmented and corrected,' is among Malone's books in the Bodleian. Folio, 102 leaves, or A to N in eights, except that M has only 6 leaves. Waley printed from 1546 to 1575.

10. An edition by T. East, no date, folio.

The book is a very curious and interesting mixture of all kinds of learning of the time, with many quaint cuts, † and certainly deserves reproducing. To show its range of subjects, I copy its Table of Contents from the 1604 edition 'printed at London by G. Elde for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the white Lion. 1604,' which is evidently a page for page reprint, with changed spelling, of the edition of 1540-60 I say,—but 1505?, by Poyanson?, says the Brit. Mus. Catalogue—of which an imperfect copy beginning on B ii. is in the British Museum (8561 f.).

"This is the table of this present booke, of the Shepheards Kalender, drawne out of French into English, with many more goodly editions than be chaptered, newly put thereto."

First the Prologue of the Authour, that saith that euery man may liue lxxiiii. yeares at the least, and they that die before that terme, it is by cuill gouer[n]ment, and by violence, or outrage of themselfe in their youth. Cap. primo.

The second Prologue of the great maister Shepheard, that proueth true, by good argument, all that the first shepheard saith. cap. ii.

Also a Kalender with the figures of euery Saint that is hallowed in the yeaere, in the which is the figures, the houres, and the moments, and the new Moones. cap. iii.

The table of the mouable feasts, with the compound manucll. cap. iiii.

* So says Mr. Hazlitt, from whom I take this and like lists; but the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, under *Ephemerides*, Compost, 8561 f, has 1505? The book has no printer's name, and uses woodcuts used by Robert and William Coplande, K iiii back; and another, B iiii back, used or copied in the Roxburghe Ballads. Ballad Soc. Reprint, ii. 370. On first seeing it, I said this copy couldn't be Pynson's; and on looking at it a little, fixed on William Coplande as its probable printer. Mr. Russell Martineau afterwards examined it thoroughly for the Museum, and found that the first date in the Calendar was 1560 (sign C v) so that that is the probable date of the book. See note below, p. lxxxiii.

† Mostly copied from the French. The planets, Moon, etc. are each shown at the fork of the legs of a naked man or woman walking.

The table to knowe and vnderstand euery day what signe the Moone is in. cap. v.

Also in the figure of the eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, the daies, houres, and moments. cap. vi.

The trees and branches of vertues and vices. [See Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inayt* and Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*.] cap. vii.

The paines of hell, and how that they be ordayned for euery deadly sinne, which is shewed by figures. cap. viii.

The garden and felde of all vertues, that sheweth a man how he should know whether he be in the state of the grace of God or not. cap. ix.

A noble declaration of the seuen principall petitions of the Pater noster, and also the Aue Maria: of the three salutations, of which the Angel Gabriell made the first, the second was made by saint Elisabeth, and the third maketh our mother holy Church. cap. x.

Also the Credo in English of the xii. articles of our faith. cap. xi.

Also the ten commaundementes in English;* and the five commaundementes of the Church Catholike. [Not given; but they are "in the booke of Jesus," leaf F viii. not signed.] cap. xii.

Also a figure of a man in a shippe, that sheweth the vnstableness of this transitory world cap. xiii.

Also to teach a man to know the felde of vertues. cap. xiiii.

Also a Shepherdes ballad, that sheweth his frailty. cap. xv.

Also a ballad of a woman shepheard, that profiteth greatly. cap. xvi.

Also a ballad of death, that biddeth a man beware betime. cap. xvii.

Also the ten commaundements of the deuill, and the reward that they shal haue that keepe them.† cap. xviii.

* One God onely thou shalte loue & worshyp perfytely.
 God in vayne thou shalte not swere, nor by y^e he made truely.
 The sondayes thou shalt kepe, in seruinge God deuoutlye.
 Father & mother thou shalt honour, end shalt lyue longely.
 Mansleer thou shalt not be, in dede, ne wyllyngely.
 Lecherous thou shalt not be of thy body, ne consentyngely.
 No mans goods thou shalt not stele, nor witholde falsely.
 False wytnesse thou shalte not bere, in any wyse lyngely.
 The worke of the fleshe desyre not, but in maryage onely.
 The goodes of other, couet not to haue them vniustly.
 † Coplande's (called Pynson's) ed. leaf F 7 back, not signed.

† Here after foloweth the .x. commandements of the deuill. (sign. G 6 back, ed Coplande!)

Who so will do my commaundements,
 And kepe them well and sure,
 Shall haue in hell great torments
 That euermore shall endure.

- [1] Thou shalt not feare God, nor thinke of his goodnes.
- [2] To dampne thy soule, blaspheme God and his saintes,
 Euermore thine owne will be fast doing;
 Deceauue men and women, and euer be swearing:
- [3] Be dronken hardely vpon the holy day,
 And cause other to sinne, if thou may.
- [4] Father nor mother, loke thou loue nor drede,
 Nor helpe them neuer, though they haue nede.

Another ballad that saint John sheweth in the Apocalips, of the black horse that death rideth vpon. cap. xix.

[*Sign. A 3.*] A ballad how princes and states should gouerne them. [? Lydgate's 'estate and order of euery degree.'] cap. xx.

The trees and branches of vertues, and vices, with the seauen vertues against the seauen deadly sinnes. cap. xxi.

Also a figure that sheweth howe the xii. signes raigne in mans body; and which be good, and which be bad. cap. xxii.

A picture of the phisnomy of mans body, and sheweth in what parts the seauen planets hath domination in man. cap. xxiii.

And after the number of the bones in mans body, followeth a picture that sheweth of all the veyns in the body, and how to bee let bloud in them. cap. xxiiii.

To knowe whether a man be likely to be sicke or no, and to heale them that be sicke. cap. xxv.

And also heere sheweth of the replexion of euill humors, and also for to clense them. cap. xxvi.

Also, how men should gouerne them the iiii. quarters of the yeare. cap. xxvii.

Also, how men should do, when phisicke doth faile them, for health of body and soule: made in a ballad royal. ["Diatorie" in the *Babees Book*, 1858, Pt. 1, p. 54-8, enlarged.] cap. xxviii.

Also, to shew men what is good for the braine, the eyes, the throate, the breaste, the heart and stomacke, properly declared. cap. xxix.

Also the contrary, to shew what is euill for the braine, the eyes, the throat, the breast, the heart, and the stomack, following by and by. cap. xxx.

Also of the foure elements, and the similitude of the earth; and how euery planet is one aboue another, and which be masculine & feminine. cap. xxxi.

A crafty figure of the world, with xii. signes going about, and also of the moouings of the heauens with the planets. cap. xxxii.

Also of the Equinoctiall and the Zodiake which is in the ix. heauen, which contayneth the firmament, & al vnder it, with a picture of a spire. cap. xxxiii.

- [5] Hate thy neighbour, and hurt him by enuy;
Murder, and shed man's blood hardely;
Forgeue no man, but be all vengeable.
- [7] Be lecherous in dede, and in touching delectable;
Breake thy wedlocke, and spare not; [leaf G 7, not signed.]
And to deceaue other by falsehode care not.
- [8] The goodes of other thou shalt holde falsly,
And yelde it no more though they speake curtesly.
- [9] Company often with women, and tempte them to sinne;
- [10] Desire thy neighbours wife, and his goodes to be thine.
Do thus hardely, and care not therefore,
And thou shalt dwell with me in hell euermore;
Thou shalt lye in froste and fyre, with sicknes and hunger;
And in a thousand peeces thou shalt be torne a sunder;
yet thou shalt dye, and neuer be deade;
Thy meate shalbe todes, and thy drinke boyling leade.
Take no thought for the blud that God for thee shed,
And to my kingdome thou shalt be straight led.

Here foloweth the rewarde of them that kepeth these commaundementes aforesayde. [17 lines of verse.
But no doubt the reader has had enough of it.]

Of Solstitium of Summer, Solstitium of Winter; with a figure of the Zodyake. eap. xxxiiii.

Of the rising and descending of the signes in the horyson. eap. xxxv.

And also of the diuision of the earth, and the regions; with a picture of the mobile. eap. xxxvi.

[This 'picture' is the rose-shaped woodcut, with a mansion and landseape in the centre, used on the title of Andrew Boorde's *Pronostycation* for 1545. There is no cut at all in the French edition of 1529, 'Imprime a Troys par Nieolas le Rouge,' nor in that 'Imprime a Lyon / par Jehan Cauterel en la // * mayson de feu Barnabe Chaussard / pres // nostre dame de Confort. en Lan // Mil einq eens. lj. Le // xxvij. iour du // moys // Daoust. // 1551.' //]

Of the variation that is in many habitations and regions of the earth. eap. xxxvii.

Also of the xii. starres fixed, that sheweth what shall happen vnto them that are borne vnder them. eap. xxxviii.

Also a figure of the xii. houres, as much in earth as in heaven. eap. xxxix.

Also pictures of the vii. planets; to know in what houre they do raigne the day and night; that telleth which be bad, and which be good; & sheweth how the children shalbe disposed which shalbe borne vnder them. eap. xl.

Also, pictures of the foure eomplections to shew and know the eondition of each eomplection, and to know by a mans eoulour what he is of any of al foure, and how he is disposed of nature. eap. xli.

[*Sign A 3 back.*] Also heere followeth the iudgmentes of the mans faee and body, as Aristotle wrote to king Alexander the eonditions of man, & the properties in *the* visages of man; but, by the grace of God, good eonditions, grace, prayers, fastings, and blessings, these fve withstand vnkindly condition. eap. xlii.

Also a picture of the Pomyaw [see leaves A 4 and L 7 and 8 not signed], that sheweth a man to know, every houre of the night, what is a cloeke, before midnight and after. eap. xliii.

Also then follow pictures of the impressions of the aire, of the flying dragon, and the leaping kiddes, the way to saint James [of Galieia, the Milky Way], and the seuen starres of the burning piller, and of the frie speare, and of the flaming bushes or trees that otherwile faileth, and the flying starre, and the blasing starres, and of fve-tailed starres, and of the bearded starre, with the epitaph of a thunder stone. eap. xliiii.

Also, how the Moone ehangeth twelue times in the yeare, so likewise mans eonditions change twelue times in the yeare. eap. xlv.

Of the eommodities of the xii. monethes in the yeare, with the twelve ages of man. eap. xlvi.

Of an assault against a snaile [for eating the vine-buds,—by a Lady, and several men of arms, all of whom the snail defies, M. 4.] [cap. xlvii.]

Also followeth the meditation of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that shepheardes and simple people ought to haue in hearing of their diuine seruice. eap. xlviii.

The saying of the dead man [a Poem of good adviee]. eap. xlix.

* // marks the end of a line. The 's are in the original.

* Also certaine orisons and prayers; and first, a diuision theologicall on a question, to knowe if prayers, orisons, and suffrages, done to the soules in Purgatory, bee meritorious and auailable for their health and deliuerance. cap. l.

How euery man and woman ought to cease off their sins at the sounding of a dreadfull horne. [The ?Coplande copy (or Pynson so-called) wants the leaves after "Thus endeth the horner," a big negro for Death, with 'to to' coming out of his horn.] cap. li.

To know the fortunes and destinies of a man borne vnder the xii. signes, after Ptolemeus, prince of Astronomie. cap. lii.

Also followeth the xii. moneths, with the pictures of the twelue signes, that sheweth the fortunes of men and women that are born vnder them, so that they may know in what moneth and day they were borne. cap. liii.

Also, here telleth of the ten christian nations, that is to say, to shew the certaine poyntes that much heathen people doe beleue of our faith; but not in al, and therefore we begin first with our faith. cap. liiii.

Also followeth a few prouerbes. cap. lv.

The authors ballad. cap. lvi.

Also a good drinke for the pestilence, which is not chaptred [and is not printed after ch. 56. *Finis* follows that.] cap. lvii.

Thus endeth the table of this present booke.

The length of this 'Table' prevents my giving some good extracts from the prose parts of the book which I had markt; but I must take a few of the Proverbs, from the end of the imperfect copy of Jhon Wally's edition, 1580 (?) in the Museum.

¶ And also an other, forget it nat:
Kepe your owne home as doth a mouse;
For I tell you, the deuil is a wyly cat;
He will spye you in another mans house.

¶ And in espetiall, God to please,
Desyre thou neuer none other mans thinge:
Remember that many fingers is well at ease,
That neuer ware on, no gay golde ringe.

¶ And this I tell you for good and all,
Remember it, you that be wyse:
That man or woman hath a great fall,
The which slyde downe, and do neuer ryse.

And one also forget not behynde,
That man or woman is likely, good to be,
That banisheth malyce out of their mynde,
And slepeth euery night in charitie.

I rede you worke by good councell,
For that man is worthy to haue care
That hath twise fal† into a well,
And yet the thirde tyme cannot beware.

* This chapter is left out in the English copies of the so-called Pynson, and of Elde 1604, in the British Museum: its Popery wouldn't suit a Protestant time. This confirms my doubt as to the earliest B. M. copy being a Pynson. It's by William Coplande or his predecessor, I believe.

† Falne, ed. 1604.

Say that a fryer tolde you this:
 [H]e is wyse that doth forsake sinne:
 [T]hen may we come to heauen blysse.
 [G]od giue vs grace, that place to winne.

FINIS

The following extract shows how man is a microcosm, and includes in himself all animals:

And they say that God ne formed creature for to inhabite the world, wyser then man; for there is no conditione maner in a beaste, but that it is founde comprehended in man. Naturally, a man is hardy as the Lyon, true and worthy as the oxe, large and liberall as the Cock, auaricious as the Dog, and aspre as the Hart, debonayre and true as the Turtle, malicyous as the Leoparde, preuy and tame as the Doue, dolerous and guilefull as the Foxe, simple and debonayre as the lambe, shrewde as the ape, light as the horse, soft and piteable as [the] Beare, dere and precious as the Oliphant, good & holesome as the Unicorne, vyle & slouthfull as the Asse, fayre and proude as the Pecoche, glotonous as the Wolfe, enuyous as the Bitch, debel & inobedient as the Nightingale, humble as the Pygeon, fel and folish as the Oystrich, profytable as the Pysmare, dyssolute and vagabund as the Gote, spytefull as the Fesaunt. Soft and meeke as the Chekin. Mouable and varying as the Fish. Lccherous as the Bore. Stronge and puissant as the Camell. Traytor as the Mule. Aduised as the Mouse. Reasonable as an aungell. And therefore he is called the little world, for he participeth of all, or he is called all creatures; for, as it is sayd, he participeth and hath condicion of all creatures.—*From* Cap. xlii. The iudgementes of mans body. Back of L vij not signed.

XXXV. *The Ship of Fools*. Of this work there are two old versions, onc in prose and another in verse. The prose version was translated by H. Watson, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517; and of this a copy is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

From Herbert, in *Ames* i. 158, we find that Watson says: "this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language / and out of Almayne it was translated in to Latyn / by mayster Jacques Locher / and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frensshe. I haue consydered that the one delyteth hym in latyn / the other in Frensshe / some in ryme / and the other in prose / for the whiche cause I haue done this" in prose.—"Consyderynge also that the prose is more familiar vnto euery man than *the* ryme, I, Henry Watson, haue reduced this present boke in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe out of Frensshe / at y^e request of my worshypfull mayster wynken de worde / through the cntysement and exhortacyon of the excellent prynces Margarett / countesse of Rychemonde and Derby / and grandame vnto our moost naturall souerayne lorde kynge Henry y^e VIII. whome Jhesu preserue from all encombraunce.—¶ By the shyppe we may vnderstande *the* folyes and erroures that the mondoynes are in / by the se this presente worlde /—Syth that it is so / we must serche this booke, the whiche may wel be called 'the doctrynnall of fooles.'" Imprynted—M. CCCCC. & xvii. The nynthe yere of the reygne of our souerayne kynge Henry *the* viii. The xx. daye of June.

The poetical version of *The Ship of Fools* is the chief work of Alexander Barklay, who was probably a Scotchman, was "educated at Oriel College, Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury." (*Warton*, ii. 419, ed. 1840). He finished "The SHYP OF FOLYS, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devonshyre, oute of Laten, Frenche, and Dotch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M. CCCCC. VIII." John Cawood printed a second edition of the book in 1570. "About the year

1494," says Warton, i. 420 Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title [*Navis Stultifera Mortalium*]. The design was, to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage, of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French; and, in the year 1488, into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt. From the original, and the two translations, Barclay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pynson,* whose name occurs in the poem:

How be it the charge Pynson has on me layde,
With many foees our nauy not to charge.
(leaf 38 back, Cawood's ed. 1570.)

Barclay's paraphrase is not at all so bright or biting as one would have hoped it would be; nor do his special envoys or addresses to each class of Fools at the end of his enlargements of the Latin text, give one a good sketch of the vices and ways of his time: still, one is thankful to have them; and as each of us is bound to think first, wherein he is a fool himself, suppose we get Mr. G. Parker of the Bodleian to give us Brandt's and Barclay's sketches of us Fools who 'books assemble,'—though we do read some—adding Watson's translation too, to show how he treats his original. For more, the reader can turn to the volume itself: he'll enjoy its quaint cuts, if he doesn't the text.

[P. 1. 16. Jur. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.).]

THE SHYP OF FOLVS.

translated iz the College

of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten Frenche / and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde College. translated . . . 1508. Imprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre (*sic*) at the signe of Saynt George by Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended . . . 1509. The 13 day of December.

[The title-page is covered with one large Coat of Arms and a Crest above it: at the back of this, towards the bottom of the page, is the title copied above.]

[fol. 12.]

Argumentum in narragoniam.

AD humani generis felicitatem: documentumque saluberrimum: stultorum classis ad Narragoniam constructa fulget: quam quidem omnes conscendunt: qui de semita / veritatis / et aperto sani intellectus calle vagantes: Satyra. in varias et vmbrosas mentis tenebras: ac corporis illecebras corruunt. Potuisset presens hic noster libellus non inconcinne satyra nuncupari: sed auctorem nouitas tituli delectauit. sicuti enim prisca satyrici: variis poematibus contextis: [etc.].

HËre after foloweth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the worlde: translated out of Laten / Frenche & Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery By me Alexander Barclay to the felicite and moste [fol. 1. b.] holsum instruccion of mankynde the whiche conteyneth al suche as wandre from the way of trouth and from the open Path of holsum vnderstandyng & *wysdom: fallynge into dyuers blyndnesses of the mynde / folysshe sensualitytes / and vnlawful delectacions of the body. This present Boke myght haue ben callyd nat inconueniently the Satyr (that is to say) the reprehencion of foullysshnes. but the neweltye of the name was more plesant vnto the fyrst actour to call it the Shyp of folles: For in lyke wyse as olde Poetes Satyriens in dyuers Poesyes comioyned repreled the synnes and ylnes of the peple at that tyme lyuyng: so and in lyke wyse this our Boke representeth vnto the iyen of the redars the states and condicions of men: so that euery man may behold within the same the cours of his lyfe and his mysgouerned maners / as he sholde beholde the shadowe of the fygure of his visage within a bright Myrrour. But concernyng the translation of this Boke: I exhort the reders to take no displeasour for that it is nat translated word by worde acordinge to the verses of my actour. For I haue but only drawn into our moder tunge / in rude langage, the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wyt wyl suffer me / some tyme addyng / somtyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges a[s] semethe me necessary and superflue. wherfore I desyre

* The Granville copy in the Brit. Mus. is in beautiful condition, though cut down grievously by one of that cursed race of binders.

of you reders, pardon of my presumptuous audacite, trustynge that ye shall holde me excused if ye *consyder the* scarsnes of my wyt and my vnexpert youthe. I haue in many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurenes of Fables, and haue *concluded* my worke in rude langage,* as shal apere in my *translacion*. But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is, to auoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes, whyche (as saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices: and to the vtter derision of obstynat men delitynge them in folyes & mys gouernance. But bycause the name of this boke semeth to the redar to procede of derysion: and by that mean that the substance therof shulde nat be profitable: I wyl aduertise you that this Boke is named the Shyp of foles of the worlde: For this worlde is nought els but a tempestuous se, in the whiche we dayly wander and are caste in dyuers tribulacions, paynes, and aduersitees: some by ignoraunce, and some by wilfulnes: wherfore suche doers ar worthy to be called foles, syns they gyde them nat by reason as creatures resonable ought to do. Therfore the fyrst actoure, willynge to deuyde suche foles from wysemen and gode lyuers, hathe ordeyned vpon the se of this worlde this present Shyp to conteyne these folys of *the worlde* / whiche ar in great nomber. So that who redeth it, perfytely consyderynge his secrete dedys / he shall not lyghtly excuse hym selfe out of it / what so euer good name *that* he hath outwarde in the mouth of the comontye / And to the entent / *that* this my labour may be the more pleasaunt vnto lettred men / I haue adioyned vnto the same *the verses* of my Actour, with dyuerse concordauces of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same / & also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any suche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.

[fol. 13.]

De inutilibus libris.

Inter precipuos pars est mihi reddita stultos
Prima: rego docili vastaque vela manu.
En ego possideo multos: quos raro libellos
Perlego: tum lectos negligo: nec sapio.

Inutilitas librorum.

Quod si quis percurrere omnes scriptores cupiat opprimetur: tum librorum multitudine: tum diuersa scribentium varietate: vt haud facile verum possit elicere. distrahit enim librorum multitudo. et faciendi libros plures non est finis.

Diodorus Siculus.
li. i. Ecclesi. xij.
Dabitur liber
nescientibus
litteras.

PRImus in excelsa teneo quod naue rudentes
Stultiuagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta:
Non ratione vacat certa: sensuque latenti:
Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis
Spem quoque nec paruam collecta volumina præbent:
Calleo nec verbum: nec libri sentio mentem.
Attamen in magno per me seruantur honore:
Pulueris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.
Ast vbi doctrine certamen voluitur: inquam
Aedibus in nostris librorum culta supellex
Eminet: et chartis viuo contentus opertis:

Ptolomeus
philadelphus
Cuius meminit
Josephus lib.
xij.

Quas video ignorans: iuuat et me copia sola.
Constituit quondam diues Ptolomeus: haberet
Vt libros toto quesitos vndique mundo

[fol. 13b.]

Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat:
Non tamen archane legis documenta tenebat:
Quis sine non poterat vite disponere cursum

Qui parum
tudet parum
proficit glo. in
l. vniuersæ C.
de. prox. sacr.
seri. sic

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina / tardus
Pauca lego: viridi contentus tegmine libri.
Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti?
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus
Qui studet / assiduo motu / fit stultus et amens.
Seu studiam: seu non: dominus tamen esse vocabor
Et possum studio socium disponere nostro:
Qui pro me sapiat: doctasque examinet artes.
At si cumdoctis versor: concedere malo
Omnia: ne cogar fors verba latina profari
Theutonicos inter balbos sum maximus auctor:
Cum quibus incassum sparguntur verba latina.

Pronerbio. v. ff.
de Corrig. iur.
l. ii. post origi-
nem Persius.
sic.

O vos doctores: qui grandia nomina fertis:
Respicite antiquos patres: iurisque peritos.
Non in candidulis pensepant [? ponebant.] dogmata libris:
Arte sed ingenua sitibundum pectus alebant.
Auriculis asini tegitur sed magna caterua:

* What follows on fol. 12 b is not translated or paraphrased.

¶ Here begynneth the foles: and first, inprofytable bokes.

I Am the firste fole of all the hole nauy
To kepe the pompe / the helme and eke the sayle
For this is my mynde / this one pleasoure haue I
Of bokes to haue grete plenty and aparayle
I take no wysdome by them: nor yet auayle
Nor them perceyue nat: And then I them despyse
Thus am I a foole and all that sewe that guyse.

Diodorus Sicu-
lus li. i.
Ecclesi. xij.

THat in* this shyp the chefe place I gouerne
By this wyde see with folys wanderynge
The cause is playne / and easy to dyscerne
Styll am I besy bok~~es~~ assemblynge
For to haue plenty it is a plesaunt thyng
In my conceyt and to haue them ay in honde
But what they mene do I nat vnderstonde

Dabitur libere
scientibus lite-
ras esai. xxix.

But yet I haue them in great reuerence
And honoure sauynge them from fylth and ordure
By often brusshynge / and moche dylygence
Full goodly bounde in plesaunt couerture
Of domas / satyn / or els of veluet pure
I kepe them sure ferynge lyst they sholde be lost
For in them is the connyng wherein I me bost

[fol. XIII, †
right.]

But if it fortune that any lernyd men
Within my house fall to disputacion
I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokes then
That they of my cumynge sholde make probacion
I kepe nat to fall in altercacion
And whyle they comon my bok~~es~~ I turne and wynde
For all is in them / and no thyng in my mynde.

Ptolomeus
philadetes
meminit Jo
Sephus. li. xij.
(sic).

Tholomeus the riche causyd longe agone
Ouer all the worlde good bokes to be sought
Done was his commaundement anone
These bokes he had and in his stody brought
Whiche passyd all erthly treasure as he thought
But neuertheles he dyd hym nat aply
Unto theyr doctryne / but lyued vnhappely

Qui parum
studet parum
proficit glo.
L. vnicuique C
dex sacr. scri.
(sic.)

Lo in lyke wyse of bokys I haue store
But fewe I rede / and fewer vnderstande
I folowe nat theyr doctryne nor theyr lore
It is ynoughe to bere a boke in hande
It were to moche to be it (sic) suche a bande
For to be bounde to loke within the boke
I am content on the fayre couerynge to loke

* Printed 'u.'

† The Book is foliated properly, like Vernon MS, the 2 pages shown on opening the book, being a *folium*, and the two here being headed FOLIUM (on the left page,) XIII (on the right). Later printers stupidly transferred the name *folium* to a leaf, two pages back to back, and sheepish librarians etc. have followed suit, re-leafing already-foliated MSS, under the idea that they were foliating them for the first time. The difference between a leaf and a *folium* has yet to be drilled into the bibliographic mind.

Why sholde I stody to hurt my wyt therby
 Or trouble my mynde with stody excessyue
 Sythe many ar whiche stody right besely
 And yet therby shall they neuer thryue
 The fruyt of wysdom can they nat contryue
 And many to stody so moche are inclynde
 That vtterly they fall out of theyr mynde

Eche is nat lettred that nowe is made a lorde
 Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefyce
 They are nat all lawyers that ples doth recorde
 All that are promotyd are nat fully wyse
 On suche chaunce nowe fortune throwys hir dyce
 That thoughe one knowe but the yresshe game
 yet wolde he haue a gentyll manys name

So in lyke wyse I am in suche case
 Though I nought can I wolde be callyd wyse
 Also I may set another in my place
 Whiche may for me my bokes excercyse
 Or els I shall ensue the comon gyse
 And say concedo to euery argument
 Lyst by moche speche my latyn sholde be spent

[fol. XV,* left.]

I am lyke other Clerkes whiche so frowardly them gyde.
 That after they ar onys come vnto promocion
 They gyue them to plesour theyr stody set asyde.
 Theyr Auaryce couerynge with fayned deuocion.
 yet dayly they preche: and haue great derysyon
 Agaynst the rude Laymen: and al for Couetyse.
 Though theyr owne Conscience be blynded wth that vyce.

But if I durst trouth playnely vtter and expresse.
 This is the special cause of this Inconuenyence.
 That greatest foles / and fullest of lewdnes
 Hauynge least wyt: and symplest Science
 Ar fyrst promoted: and haue greatest reuerence.
 For if one can flater / and bere a hawke on his Fyst
 He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst.*

But he that is in Stody ay ferme and diligent.
 And without al fauour prechyth Chrystys lore
 Of al the Comontye nowe adayes is sore shent.
 And by Estâtes thretened to Pryson oft therfore.
 Thus what auayle is it / to vs to Stody more:
 To knowe outhur scripture / trouth / wysedom / or vertue
 Syns fewe / or none without fauour dare them shewe.

Prouer. quinto.

But O noble Doctours / that worthy ar of name:
 Consyder our olde faders: note wel theyr diligence:
 Ensue ye theyr steppes: obtayne ye suche fame.
 As they dyd lyuynge: and that by true Prudence.
 Within theyr hartys they planted theyr scyence
 And nat in plesauzt bokes. But nowe to fewe suche be.
 Therefore in this Shyp let them come rowe with me.

ff. de origine.
 iur. l. ii. post
 originem.

¶ The Enuoy of Alexander Barclay Translatour exortynge the Foles accloyed with this vice to amende theyr foly.

Translatio a
somniazibus.

SAY worthy doctours and Clerkes curious:
What moueth you of Bokes to haue such nomber.
Syns dyuers doctrines throughe way contrarious.
Doth mannys mynde distract and sore encomber.
Alas blynde men awake / out of your slomber
And if ye wyl nedys your bokes multiplye
With diligence endeuer you some to occupye.

Now for Watson's translation.

[Douce B. subt. 254.]

The grete shyppe of fooles of this worlde.

[Title wanting; the Colophon follows.]

¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Imprynted at Londod (*sic*) in flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde. the yere of our lorde. M.CCCCC. *and*. xvii. ¶ The nynthe yere of the reygne of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the viii. The. xx. daye of June.

¶ Argument of the shyppe of Fooles of this worlde.

THIS booke compyled / for the felycyte *and* salute of all the humayne gendre / and dyrecte the shyppe of fooles of this transytory worlde / in the whiche ascendeth all they that vageth frome the playne exhortacyon of the intellectyf vnderstandynge in transmutable and of obscure thoughtes of the frayle body / wher by theyr decyuable wyttes / *and* hye enterpryses / within shorte space inuade our barge. Wherefore this present boke may be called satyre / notwithstandinge that the fyrste auctoure dyde delyte hym in the newe intytulacyon of this present boke / for ryght so as by the poesyes and fyccyons / the auneynt poetes dyde correcte the vyces *and* the fragylytes of mortall men.

¶ Semblably this present paygne specyfyeth before theyr syght the estate and condycyon of men to the ende that a myrroure they beholde the meurs *and* rectytude of lyfe Neuertheles thynke not you lectours that I haue worde by worde dyrecte and reduced this present booke out of Frensshe in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe / for I haue onely (as recyteth Flaccus) take entyerely the substaunce of the scripture in esperannc that my audace presumptuous sholde be pardonned of the lectoures / hauynge aspecte vnto the capacyce of my tendre yeres / and the imbelycyte of my lytell vnderstandynge / in leuyng the egressyons poetyques and fabulous obscurytes / in a cheuyng in werke in facyle sentence and famylyer style in supplyenge all the reders to haue me for* excused yf that I haue fayled in ony thyng.

[* Sign. A. i. b.]

¶ Here after ensueth the fyrste chapytre.

¶ Of bookes inutyle. capitulo. primo.

¶ The fyrste foole of the shypps* I am certayne
That with my handes dresse the sayles all
For to haue bookes I do all my besy payne
Whiche I loue not to rede in specyall
Nor them to se also in generall
Wherefore it is a prouerbe all aboute
Suche thynketh to knowe that standeth in doubte.

[A woodcut here.]

YOnge folkes that entende for to knowe dyuers thynges approche you vnto this doctryne *and* it reuolue in your myndes organyques to the ende that ye maye comprehendre and vnderstande the substaunce of it / and that ye be not of the nombre of the fooles that vageth in this tempesteous flode of the worlde. And you also the whiche haue passed the flourynge auge of your youthe / to the end that and you be of the nombre of the fooles moundaynes that ye maye lerne somewhat for to detraye you out of the shyp sultyfere. Wherefore vnderstande what the fyrste foole sayth beyng in the grete shyppe of of† fooles. ¶ I am the fyrste in the shyppe vagaunte with the other fooles. I tourne and hyse the cordes of the shyppe saylynge ferre within the see. I am founded full euyell in wytte and in reason. I am a grete foole for to affye me in a grete multytude of bokes. I desyre alway and appetyteth newe inuencyons compyled mystycally / and newe bookes / in the whiche I can not comprehendre the substaunce‡ / nor vnderstande no thyng. But I doo my besy cure for to kepe them honestly frome poudre *and* dust. I make my lectrons and my desks clene rygh[t] often. My mansyon is all replynysshed

* Printed 'shyppf.'

† Sic.

‡ Printed 'substanuce.'

Pholomeus. with bokes / I solace me ryght often for to se them open without any thyng compyllynge out of them.
 philadelphus ¶ Ptolomeus was a ryche man the whiche constytued (*sic*) and also commaunded that they sholde serche
 cuius memini. how thorough euery regyon of the worlde the moost excellentest bookes that myght be founden. And
 Josephus. li. xij. whan they had brought theym all / he kepte theym for a greate treasoure. And that not withstandynge
 (*sic*) he ensued not *the* ensygnemyntes nor *the* doctryne of the dyuine sapyence / how be it that he coude dyspose
 [* Sign. A. ii. b.] nothyng* of the lyfe without is / what bookes someuer he had / nor compose any thyng to the relefe
 of his body at that tyme. I haue redde in dyuers bookes / in the whiche I haue studied but a lytell
 whyle / but oftentymes I haue passed the tyme in beholdynge the dyuersytees of the couerynges of my bookes. It
 sholde be grete foly to me to applye by excessyue study myne vnderstandynge vnto so many dyuers thynges, where
 through I myghte lese my sensuall intellygence / for he that procureth too knowe ouermuche / and occupyeth hym-
 self by excessyue studye / is in daunger for to be extraught from hymself also euerychone is dyspensed / be he a
 clerke or vnderstande he nothyng yet he bereth *the* name of a lorde. I maye as well commytte one in my place
 the whiche thynketh for to lerne seynce (*sic*) for hym and for me. And yf that I fynde my selfe in any place in
 the company of wyse men to the ende that I speke no latyn / I shall condyscende vnto all theyr preposycions for
 Prouerb. v. fere that I sholde not be reproched of that that I haue so euylly lerned. ¶ O doctours the whiche
 bereth the name and can nothyng of scyence / for to eschewe grete dyshonoure come neuer in the
 company of lerned men / our auntyent faders here before dyde not lerne theyr repplegendysshynge seynce in the
 multytude of bookes / but of an ardaunte desyre *and* of a good courage. They had not theyr spyrytes so vnsted-
 faste as *the* clerkes haue at this present tyme / it were more propyre for suche folke for to bere asses keres than for
 to bere the names of doctoures and can nothyng of cunnyng.

[Fr. Douce's MSS. notes on fly-leaf at beginning of book.]

"Some of the signatures are misplaced, but the book is otherwise perfect, unless it wants a title, which is not clear, as there are 6 leaves prefixed to signature A.

"I know of no other copy of this edition, but have seen one printed on vellum with the date 1509, 4to, in the national library at Paris.

"Messrs. Brunet and Dibdin, the former in his 'Manuel du Libraire,' and the latter in his Bibl. Spenceriana, iii. 204, have erroneously ascribed the above edition of 1509 to the press of Pynson, and confounded it with the metrical translation by Barclay, which was printed in that year by Pynson *in folio*.

"The above French copy on velum has a leaf at the beginning with ¶ THE SHYPPE OF FOYLES on a scroll, [etc. . . .]

"This is the Colophon: ¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Enprynted at London in Flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde [. . .] MCCCC. ix [*sic*— G.P.]. ¶ The fyrste yere of the reygne of [. . .] Henry the VIII. The vi. daye of Julii."

[In pencil by F. D.] "Some cuts used in 'Cock Lorels bote.'† The Duke of Roxburgh's copy for £63."

Long as the extracts are from the two versions of Brandt's book, I venture to take another from Barclay's englisying, which justifies his captaining this Ship of Fools:

Barclay the Translator to ‡ the Foles.

TO Shyp! galantes! the se is at the ful;
 The wynde vs calleth, our sayles ar displayed;
 Where may we best argue! at Lyn or els at Hulle!
 To vs may no hauen in Englonde be denayd.
 Why tary we! the Ankers vp wayed.
 If any corde or Cabyl vs hurt let, outhier hynder,
 Let slyp the ende or els hewe it in sonder.

† A fragment of C. L. is in the Douce collection.

‡ tho, orig.

Retourne your syght; behold vnto the shore!
 There is great nomber that fayne woldbe aborde,
 They get no rowme, our shyp can hold no more.
 Haws in the Cocke! gyue them none other worde.
 God gyde vs from Rockes / quicsonde, tempest, & forde!
 If any man of warre / wether / or wynde, apere,
 My selfe shal trye the wynde, and kepe the Stere.

But I pray you reders, haue ye no dysdayne
 Thoughe Barclay haue presumed of audacite
 This Shyp to rule, as chefe mayster and Captayne.
 Though some thynke them selfe moche worthyer than he,
 It were great maruayle forsoth, syth he hath be
 A scoler longe, and that in dyuers scoles,
 But he myght be Captayne of a Shyp of Foles.

But if that any one be in suche maner case
 That he wyl chalange the maystershyps fro me,
 yet in my Shyp can I nat want a place,
 For in euery place my selfe I oft may se.
 But this I leue, besechyng eche degre
 To pardon my youthe and to[o] bolde interprise;
 For harde it is, duely to speke of euery vyce.

*Non mihi si
 lingue centum
 sint oraque
 centum: ferrea
 vox: omnis
 scelerum com-
 prehendere
 formas: Omnia
 stultorum per-
 currere nomina
 possem*

For yf I had tungen an hundreth, and wyt to fele
 Al thinges natural and supernaturall
 A thousand mouthes, and voyce as harde as stele,
 And [had] sene all the seuen Sciences lyberal,
 yet cowde I neuer touche the vyces all,
 And syn of the worlde, ne theyr braunches comprehende,
 Nat thoughe I lyued vnto the worldes ende.

But if these vyces whiche mankynde doth incomber
 Were clene expellyd, and vertue in theyr place,
 I cowde nat haue gathered of fowles so great a nomber,
 Whose foly from them out-chaseth goddys grace.
 But euery man that knowes hym in that case,
 To this rude Boke let hym gladly intende.
 And lerne the way his lewdnes to amende.

XXXVI. *Daniels Dreame*. I cannot find this in the British Museum or at Lambeth, in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, or Collier's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and therefore copy Lowndes's entry of it, p. 586, col. 1, ed. Bohn:—"The Dreames of Daniell, with the Exposycions of the xij Sygnes, devyded by the xij Monthes of the Ycare; and also the Destenys both of Man and Woman borne in eche Monthe of the Yere. Very necessarye to be knowen. Imprinted by me Robert Wyer. 16mo. Contains [A B C D E] F in fours. Mr. W. Brenchley Rye of the Museum says that 'Heber's copy sold 35 years ago for the moderate sum of two shillings.'

XXXVII. *The Booke of Fortune*. This is supposed to be a little verse tract in the Lambeth Library by Sir Thomas More; but, on seeing it, I felt sure that this tract was,—as the printers of More's *Workes* said it was,—meant only as a Preface to the Booke of Fortune; for More must refer to that Book in the last lines of his own poem; he cannot have meant that the few French lines in his (or Wyer's) tract, and the English ones he puts into Fortune's mouth, were the real Booke of Fortune. The title of Wyer's tract is

"¶ The Boke of the fayre Genty[l]-/woman, that no man shulde / put his truste, or confy-/dence in: that is to say, / Lady Fortune: / flatteryng euey man / that coveyteth to / haue all, and speccially,

them that truste in her, she decey-/ueth them at laste." (over a woodcut of "The Lady Fortune.") Colophon. "Imprynte by me Robert Wyer dwellyn-ge, in Saynt Martyns parysse, in the Duke of Suffolkes rentes besyde Charynge Crosse. Ad imprimendum / Solum".

4to, 8 leaves, A (not signed) and B in fours, no date.

On the back of the title is, in 3 stanzas,

¶ The Prologue

As often as I consydre these olde noble clerkes.
Poetis, Oratours, & Phylosophers, —sectes thre—
Howe wonderfull they were in all theyr werkes,
Howe eloquent, howe inuentyue to euey degre.
Halfe amased I am, and as a deed tre
Stond styll, ouer rude for to brynge forth
Any fruyte or sentence that is ought worth.

Neuertheles, though rude I be, in all contryuyng
Of matters, yet somewhat to make I need not to care:
I se many occupyed in the same thyng.
Lo! vnlearned men nowe a dayes wyll not spare
To wryte, to bable, theyr myndes to declare,
Trowynge them selfe, gay fantasyes to drawe,
When all theyr cunnyng is not worth a strawe.

¶ Some in french Cronycles gladly doth presume,
Some in Englysshe blyndly wade and wander.
Another in latin bloweth forth a dark fume,
As wyse as a great hedded Asse of Alexandre;
Some in Phylosophye, lyke a gagelynge gandre
Begynneth lustely the browes to set vp,
And at the last concludeth in the good ale cup.

¶ Finis Prologus.

quod. T. M.

On leaf A ii (not signed) is the reduced woodcut of St. John writing his Revelation (with a printer's ornament on the left), used on the title-page of Robert Wyer's 1542 edition of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary* (see my edition for the E. E. Text Soc. 1870), and then two verses of French, with a printer's border on each side

Fortune perverse,
Qui le monde versse
Toult a ton desyre,
Jamais tu nas cesse
Plaine de finesse,
Et y prens plaisir

¶ Par toy vement mauix,
Et guerres mortaulx.
Touls inconueniens;
Par mons et par vaulx,
Et aulx hospitalx,
Meurent tant de gens.

On the back are two English stanzas denouncing Fortune,* with "¶ Finis. quod. T. M." and a fresh woodcut of Lady Fortune.

On A iii (not signed) follow "¶ The wordes of Fortune to the People. quod Tho. Mo.", in six 7-line stanzas, beginning "Myne hyghe estate, power, and auctoryte," and ending "And he that wyll be a begger, let hym be." At the foot of the back in A iii is the title of the next poem "¶ To them that trusteth in Fortune" in thirty-three 7-line stanzas, beginning "Thou that art proude of honour. shape, or kyn," and ending "as are the iudgementes of Astronome. ¶ Here Fineth Lady Fortune."

* Printed, like the foregoing Prologue, in Maitland's *Early Printed Books*, p. 441.

The back of the last leaf (B iv not signed) is taken up with two French stanzas of 8-lines each, asking Fortune where are divers heroës, "Fortune, ou est Dauid et Salomon" etc. and with the burden "Ilz sont tous mors: ce monde est chose vaine," and followed by the Colophon.

Now if we turn to Sir Thomas More's *Workes*, 'printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, John V Valy. & Richarde Tottell, Anno 1557, ¶ 5, we find the main part of Wyer's tract printed as "Certain meters in English written by master Thomas More in hys youth for the boke of Fortune, and caused them to be printed in the begynning of that boke." The first poem is 'The wordes of Fortune to the people,' a boast by her of her power, and a call on men to wait on her, ending,

And he that out of pouertie and mischaunce
List for to liue, and will himself enhaunce
In wealth & riches, come forth and waite on me!
And he that will be a begger, let hym be.

The second poem is 'Thomas More to them that trust in fortune,' warning them of her fickleness, and what dangers lie in trusting her,

Fast by her side doth wearie Labour stand,
Pale Feare also, and Sorrowe all bewept,
Disdayne and Hatred on that other hand,
Eke restles watch fro slepe with trauayle kept,
His eye drowsy and lokinge as he slept;
Before her standeth Daunger and Enuy,
Flatery, Dyceyt, Mischeif and Tyranny.

contrasting her with Poverty, and advising men to choose her before Fortune:

Wherefore yf those in suretie lyst to stande,
Take pouerties parte, and let prowde fortune go;
Receyue nothyng that commeth from her hande.
Loue Manner and Vertue; they be only tho
Which double Fortune may not take the fro;
Then mayst thou boldlie defye her tornyng chaunce;
She can the neyther hynder nor auaunce.

The third poem is 'Thomas More to them that seke Fortune,' and ends thus,

Then forasmuch as it is fortunes guyse
To graunt no manne all thinge that he will axe
But as her selfe lyst order and deuyse,
Doth euery manne his part deuide and taxe,
I counsaile you eche one trusse vp your packs,
And take nothing at all, or be content
With such rewarde as fortune hath you sent.

He meaneth
the booke of
fortune.

All thinges in this booke that ye shall rede,
Doe as ye list, there shall no man you bynde
Them to beleue as surely as your crede;
But notwithstandinge certes in my mynde
I durst well sweare, as true you shall them fynde
In euery poynt, eche answer by and by,
As are the iudgements of astronomye.

Thus endeth the preface to the booke of Fortune.

I think it clear, then, that Wyer's tract is a made-up one—after More's death in 1535 perhaps*—and *not* 'the Booke of Fortune' that Captain Cox had. What that was, I can't say; but no doubt an edition of the book licensed to William Powell on Febry. 6, 1559-60.

* R. Wyer printed from 1527 to 1542.

Recevyd of William Powell, for his Lychense for pryntinge of the boke of fortune in folio, the vj. day of Februarij viij d.

Stationers' Register A, leaf 48; *Collier's Extracts* i. 25.

The earliest Fortune-telling book under *Fortune* in the British Museum Catalogue, is "A merry conceited Fortune-Teller:" P(r)ognosticating to all Trades and Professions their good and bad Fortune. Calculated according to Art, for the Meridian of England, but may serve for all four parts, East, West, North, and South, from the beginning of the world to the end thereof. [over a portrait of a man] London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White-Lion near Py-corner 1662. Here are a few extracts:

Polterers shall have very good fortune if they can make Geese of their customers: and they shall have ill fortune when their old Coneyes will not go off for young Rabbits.

Booksellers shall have very good fortune by other mens wits: and they shall have ill fortune when they have no customers for their Books, but Sir Ajax [a jakes].

Labourers shall have very good fortune if they can have work all the year; and they shall have bad fortune, when they spend their wages on Saturday nights, and Sundays, and to have never a penny on Munday

Habberdashers shall have good fortune when each gallant wears Beavers, and when Countrymen buy coarse felts: they shall have ill fortune when their knavery is felt out.

Shoomakers shall have good fortune if they do not drink on Mondays, & so play all the week: & they shall have ill fortune when the stitch of love takes them, so that they go beyond their Last, and run a woing to get a young Lass.

XXXVIII. *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. Of this well-known translation, or rather, paraphrase—probably by Lydgate—of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals, Caxton printed a first edition in 4to, in his 2nd type, before 1479 (Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 53); the Duke of Devonshire has one copy; and the only other known, that in Cambridge University Library, is imperfect. Then Wynkyn de Worde printed 3 editions,—the earliest one without a date, containing 12 leaves, and therefore a much expanded version, the others in 1518 and 1524 (in six leaves) in the Cambridge University Library. The book was licensed to Wally in 1557, as we have seen at p. 155 above. Doubtless there were several other old editions of it. A recast of it is worked into Hewe Rodes's *Boke of Nurture*, of editions of which before 1575 we know, editions by Johan Redman (about 1530), Thomas Colwell, Abraham Vcale, Thomas Petyt, and perhaps John Kynge; see my reprint of H. Jackson's edition of 1577 in the *Babees Book*.

The short Latin original *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I printed in the *Babees Book*, Part II, p. 30-3, with a literal englishing of it by Professor Seeley. In part I of the same volume, pages 26-33 are two copies of the English paraphrase attributed to Lydgate, from the Lambeth MS. 853, about 1430 A.D., and the Harleian MS. 2251, probably about 1460 A.D. In my second *Babees Book*, or *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* &c. E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. . . . , is a much expanded version of the *Stans Puer* from the Ashmole MS. 61, after 1460 A.D. Of the shorter English version Mr. Halliwell printed a copy in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 156-8 from the MS. 2. T. 8, at Jesus College, Cambridge; and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed another copy, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 23, from Mr. Halliwell's text and collated with three MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. 4011, Lansdowne 699, and Additional 5467. There are other MSS. of the poem in Ashmole MS. 59, art. 57, &c., and a differing version in Cott. Calig. A ii. leaf 13.

The poem tells a youth that when he stands before his sovereign at the table, he's not to speak recklessly, and is to keep his hands still; not to stare about, lean against a post, look at the wall, pick

his nose, or scratch himself; to look steadily at the man who speaks to him, and not cast his head lumpishly down; not to laugh wantonly before his lord, and to walk demurely in the streets. Before meals, the youth is to clean his nails, and wash his hands. At meals, he's not to press up to too high a seat, or be too hasty to eat; he's not to grin, make faces, or shout; not to stuff his jaws too full, or drink too fast. He's to keep his lips clean, and wipe his spoon; not to make sops of his bread, drink with a dirty mouth, dirty the tablecloth, or pick his teeth with his knife. He's not to swear or talk ribaldry, or take the best morsels, but to share with his fellows, eat up his scraps, and keep his nails from getting black. Then he's not to bring up anew old complaints, or play with his knife, shuffle his feet about, spill the broth over his chest, use dirty knives, or fill his spoon too full. He's to be quick in doing whatever his lord orders; to take salt with his knife, and not to dip his meat in the salt cellar; not to blow in the general cup, or quarrel with his fellows, or interrupt any man telling a story. He's to drink ale and wine only in moderation; not to talk too much; and to be gentle and tractable, but not over soft, and not revengeful. Lastly, children who don't behave well are to have the rod. But if they attend to this 'liril balade,' it will lead them into all virtues.

Mr. Bradshaw says:—"W. de Worde's edition is *Stans puer ad mensam* + 'Little John,'* which fully accounts for the 12 leaves. He must have reprinted from a copy where Caxton's two were bound together. He reproduces Caxton's mistake of two pages transposed in printing, which is enough to show where he got his text." Mr. Bradshaw describes the book as

"*Stans puer ad mensam* in English by John Lidgate. The Book of Courtesy or Little John. London, Wynkyn de Worde, no date (1501-1510) 4°.

Collation: A B in Sixes, 12 leaves.

Title (in white on a black ground) "*Stans puer ad mēsā*;" below this block three woodcuts of a man, a woman, and, between them, a family of children.

Colophon (on the last page): ¶ Emprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde."

XXXIX. *The Hy Way to the Spittl-house.* Of this very important and interesting sketch of the broken-downs, scamps, and rogues,—the resorters to Bartholomew's Hospital—in Henry VIII's time, after the Statute 22nd Henry VIII (1530-1) against vagabonds (l. 375), and after the Reformation was established (l. 551 of the poem) we have only copies of one edition, printed by the author and printer of the poem, Robert Copland. He printed it at the shop where, after at least 22 years' work, he was succeeded by William Copland (his younger brother, or son) in 1547 or -8, the Rose-garland in Flete-strete.† Mr. Utterson reprinted it in his *Select Picces of Early Popular Poesy*, 1817, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Early Popular Poesy*, 1866, iv. 17. After a Prologue, Copland tells us that about a fortnight after Hallowmas or All Saints' Day, Nov. 1, (the beggars' jubilee,) he took refuge from a storm under the porch of a hospital (Bartholomew's), and while there, talked to the porter, and saw a crowd of poor miserable people, and beggars gather at the gate. (The hospital then gave temporary lodging to almost all the needy as well as permanent to the deserving poor and sick; and Sisters attended to them.) Copland asks the Porter about the different classes of people who come to the hospital; and in their long talk—the poem is 1097 lines—all classes of the poor, the ne'er-do-weels,

* Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1868, from 2 MSS. and Caxton's unique print.

† William Copland's dated Rose-Garland books range from 1548 to 1557; he afterwards moved to the Three Cranes in the Vintry, whence his one dated book is Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon, 1561; lastly, he moved to Lothbury, whence he issued no dated book.

and the rascals, are described and discussed. First, Vagabonds* are rejected, and they lie huddled together like beasts about Smithfield market, etc., chiding and brawling. 2, the persons admitted are the old, sick, and impotent, women in childbed, honest folk fallen in mischance, wayfaring men, maimed soldiers, and bedridden folk: all others have lodging for a night or two:—the modern Refuge, Poor-house, and Hospital, in one.—3. the Beggars, who work in pairs, one asking bygoers to take pity on the other: then one pulls out *11d.* says we've had a bad day, but let's go dine. These don't come to the Hospital; their haunts are in Barbican, Turnmill St. (the courtesans' quarter) Houndsditch and behind the Fleet; and there they revel and get drunk, lying like swine on their backs. Some beggar-masters have men under them, who sham diseases, put soap in their mouths to make 'em foam, etc. These only come to the Hospital when they're sick indeed. 4, the Masterless Men, who say they've served the King abroad, and beg for help till they get a fresh service. Of these are 2 classes, *a.* open beggars, ragged and lowsy, who prowl about and steal; *b.* Nightingales of Newgate, who walk about decently drest—'In theyr hose trussed rounde to theyr dowblettes'—telling you where they've fought, or that they've been unjustly imprisoned, and then set free: all over the country they go, and they'll rob you of purse and clothes if they get a chance; and then at night dress up in sword, buckler, and short dagger, swear, brag, and 'passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, (and) thefe.' These at last come to the gallows or the Hospital. Ah, says Copland, the Vagabond Act of 1530-1 isn't enforced; and the bawdy brybrous knaves who keep these Beggars-lodging-houses are not lookt after. 5. *Rogers*,† who go about singing and praying, saying that they're poor scholars: 6. *Clewners*, whom the Rogers obey as captains, and who say they've taken the degree of priest in the university, and want money to go home and sing their first Mass for their benefactors: 7. *Sapient*s or Quack-doctors, who work in two couples; the first Doctor affects not to know English; his mate tells a woman her child is near dying, but the Doctor can cure it. She gives the men money; the Doctor refuses any, but gives her some powder for her child; and the quacks go on. Next day the second couple come to her house, and say that the child is very bad, they'll stay a fortnight until they make it well. These rogues don't come to the Hospital. 7. *Pardoners*, whose business the Reformation has taken away: these do come, though they're as big roughs as the others:

"For by letters they name them as they be;
P. a Pardonor: Clewner a C:
R. a Roger: A. an Aurium: and a Sapyent, S."

Copland doesn't describe the Auriums, so far as I see. 8. The Porter then describes, in lines 573-743, the unthrifths who come to the Hospital: men with no heart towards God, bad sons, ale-house priests, wasteful heirs, poor people dressing finely, careless folk who don't keep accounts, bad landlords, men always going to law, negligent farmers, self-willed people, meddlers, foolish merchants and workmen, wasteful rufflers, taverners and innkeepers for whores and thieves, dishonest bakers and brewers, people who marry too young, insolvent merchants, waiters for relations' money, men letting their wives ruin them, &c. 9. Men with shrews for wives. 10. Negligent masters, changeable servants, borrowers, too generous parents, gluttons, untidily careless people. 11. Adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers. 12. Sluggards. 13. Usurers and extortioners, if they get poor; but 14. Thieves and murderers generally go to prison and the gallows. 15. Drunkards—Dutch folk and Flemings are the worst.—16. Quarrellers. 17. Proud decayed gentry. 18. Hypocrites. 19. Men with wasteful gay wives. 19. Pedlars talking

* I ought to have referred to Robert Copland as one of Awdeley's and Harman's forerunners, in my Preface to their Vagabond treatises, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.

† I don't find this or any of the four next names in Awdeley or Harman.

cant, 'the patryng cove' etc. (with a specemen of Cant or Pedlyng Frenche). 20. Mariners of Cock Lorel's Boat, unthrifts, the 24 Orders of Knaves,* and the Order of Fools. 21, and last, of women,

The systerhod of drabbes, sluttess and callets,
Do here resorte, with theyr bags and wallets
And be partners of the confrary [fraternity] 1080
Of the maynteners of yll husbandry.

'To eschue vyce I thè vndertoke,' says Robert Copland of his poem, which is a most valuable help to our knowledge of Henry VIII's time, the necessary complement to Halle's Chronicle of the splendour and gaiety of that king's court life.

XL. *Julian of Brainford's Testament*. Of this second poem by the old printer Robert Copland, two editions only are known, and they were both printed, by William Copland, in black letter. Each contains eight leaves 4to., but the earlier edition is called "Jyl of Braintford's testament newly compiled," and has a colophon "Imprinted at London by me William Copland," according to Mr. J. Payne Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 152-3); while the later one's title, according to a copy made for me by Mr. G. Parker, is "Jyl of Breyntford's testament. Newly compiled," with the colophon "Imprinted at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst Saint Margarytes church by me Wyllyam Copland," and a copy of this edition is in the Bodleian, among Selden's books, 4to, C. 39. Art. Seld. As it was printed in Lothbury, its date must be 1562 or a few years later; the date of the earlier 'London' edition must be between that and 1547. The object of the excellent old printer in writing the poem has been obscured by readers dwelling only on the coarseness of the legacy left by the old alewife to the people whom she satirizes. The poem is really of the same class as *The Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, and its main object is to show-up the follies and vices of Henry VIII's time. As Copland says of himself when he read it:

It dyd styre me to fall on smylyng,
Consyderyng the prety pastyme
And rydyle ordre of the ryne,
The couert termes, vnder a mery sence,
Shewyng of many the bynd insolence,

Tauntyng of thynges past and to come,
Where as my selfe was hyt with some:
And for that cause I dyd intend
After thys maner to haue it pende,
Prayeng all them that mery be,
If it touch them, not to blame me.

And again at the end, Robert Copland says, that his hostess's legacies are

Wylled to them that, without aduysement,
Do that thyng waer-of they repent.

Only one or two of these 'things' blamed or ridiculed—the treatment of a fair wench, and a thirsty bystander—are right morally; the rest are all wrong or foolish; the people who do them, being those who would ultimately have to take refuge in Copland's 'Spytel-Hous,' St. Bartholomew's. The setting of the story, the tale to point the moral, is unnecessarily coarse; but so was Copland's time; we must put up with the rough husk if we get the kernel.

The old alewife leaves twenty-five of her 'raps' to twenty-five sets of fools, and one and a half to the curate who makes her will. Let's take the first six as a sample. They are

- (1) . . . hym that is angry
With his frend, and wotes not why.
- 2 . . . hym that selleth al his herytage,
And all his lyfe lyueth in seruage . . .
- 3 He that settess by no man, nor none by hym,
And to promocion fayn wold clym. . .
- 4 He that wyl not lerne, and can do nothyng,
And with lewed folk is euer conuersyng . . .

* See Awdeley's 25 Orders of Knaves, after his *Fraternyte of Vacabondes*, in our edition (E. E. T. Soc.) p.

5. He that boroweth without aduantage,
And euermore renneth in arrerage . . .
6. He that geueth, and kepeth nought at all,
And by kyndnes to pouerte dooth fall.

Robert Copland says, or pretends, that a mery fellow, John Hardlesay, whom he met at Brentford, and with whom he went to drink at the Red Lion, at the shambles' end, first explained to him the meaning of Old Jyl's legacy, and gave him a tattered copy of her Testament.

As this tract has not been reprinted lately, I believe, I shall send it to press at once, with another of the same class, *The Wyll of the Deyl*, of which a unique copy of the early edition is at Lambeth. I have heard that Mr. J. P. Collier has reprinted a later edition in one of his Series. Mr. Halliwell noticed *Jyl of Breyntford* in his edition of 'The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor' for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 68; and he said that the only copy of the earlier edition passed through the hands of Ritson and Heber; but neither he nor Mr. Collier said where it was when they wrote. Buried in the case of some bibliotaph,* perhaps.

XLI. *Castle of Love.*

The original of the *Castle of Love*, is, says Mr. W. F. Cosens, the *Carcel de Amor* or Prison of Love, by Diego de San Pedro, published in 1492, and whose poetry, says Mr. Ticknor (*Hist. Spanish Lit.* 1863, i. 382) "is found in all the Cancioneros Generales. He was evidently known at the court of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], and seems to have been favoured there; but if we may judge from his principal poem, entitled 'Contempt of Fortune,' his old age was unhappy, and filled with regrets at the follies of his youth. Among these follies, however, he reckons the work of prose fiction which now constitutes his only real claim to be remembered. It is called the Prison of Love 'Carcel de Amor,' and was written at the request of Diego Hernandez, a governor of the pages in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"It opens with an allegory. The author supposes himself to walk out on a winter's morning, and to find in a wood a fierce, savage-looking person who drags along an unhappy prisoner bound by a chain. This savage is Desire; and his victim his Leriano, the hero of the fiction. San Pedro, from natural sympathy, follows them to the Castle or Prison of Love, where, after grouping through sundry mystical passages and troubles, he sees the victim fastened to a fiery seat, and enduring the most cruel torments. Leriano tells him that they are in the kingdom of Macedonia, that he is enamoured of Laureola, daughter of its king, and that for his love he is thus cruelly imprisoned; all of which he illustrates and explains allegorically, and begs the author to carry a message to the lady Laureola. The request is kindly granted, and a correspondence takes place, immediately upon which Leriano is released from his prison, and the allegorical part of the work is brought to an end.

"From this time the story is much like an episode in one of the tales of chivalry. A rival discovers the attachment between Leriano and Laureola, and, making it appear to the king, her father, as a criminal one, the lady is cast into prison. Leriano challenges her accuser, and defeats him in the lists; but the accusation is renewed, and, being fully sustained by false witnesses, Laureola is condemned to death. Leriano rescues her with an armed force, and delivers her to the protection of her uncle, that there may exist no further pretext for malicious interference. The king, exasperated anew, besieges Leriano in his city of Susa. In the course of the siege, Leriano captures one of the false witnesses, and compels him to confess his guilt. The king, on learning this, joyfully receives his daughter again, and shows all favor to her faithful lover. But Laureola, for her own honor's sake, now refuses to hold further

* See Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 27.

intercourse with him; in consequence of which, he takes to his bed, and, with sorrow and fasting, dies. Here the original work ends; but there is a poor continuation of it by Nicolas Nunez, which gives an account of the grief of Lourcola, and the return of the author to Spain.

The style, so far as Diego de San Pedro is concerned, is good for the age; very pithy, and full of rich aphorisms and antitheses. But there is no skill in the construction of the fable, and the whole work only shows how little romantic fiction was advanced in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The *Carcel de Amor* was, however, very successful. The first edition appeared in 1492; two others followed in less than eight years; and, before a century was completed, it is easy to reckon ten, besides many translations.*

Mr. F. W. Cosens says: "In Gayangos and Védia's Spanish edition of *Ticknor* is the following note. Tomo 3º, p. 546. The 'chivalresque-sentimental' novel to which genus belongs the *Carcel de Amor* of San Pedro was imported from Italy, but never enjoyed much favour in Spain, rapidly passing away to give place to 'books of chivalry,' which in time became absolute masters of the field."

XLII. *The Boogyt of Demaunds*. This is perhaps "The Demaunds Joyous," a short set of comical Questions and Answers, the first printed edition of which (according to the reprint, which Mr. Collier says had about 50 mistakes) has this Colophon, "Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous / Emprinted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonnet by / me Wynkyn de worde / In the yere of our lord a M / CCCCC / and xi." It was reprinted in 1829 from the unique copy belonging to the late Richard Heber, by Thomas White, and the British Museum copy is inserted between the 'Contents' and text of Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. Mr. Collier has described the book in his *Bibl. Catal.* i. 217-18.

Here is a sample of the *Demaundes* from the careless reprint: "¶ *Demaunde*. where became y^e asse that our lady rode upon. ¶ Adams moder dede ete her. ¶ *Demaunde*. who was Adams moder. ¶ The erthe. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye. ¶ No more but one if it be longe ynough. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be. ¶ Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. why doth an oxe or a cowe lye. Bycause she can not sytte. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many strawes go to a gosc nest. ¶ None, for lacke of fete.

Mr. J. M. Kemble reprinted the *Demaundes* in his *Vercelli Poems* for the Ælfric Society.

Mr. Halliwell says, however, that Captain Cox's book is probably "Delectable demandes and pleasaunt questions, with their seuerall aunswers in matters of loue, naturall causes, with morall and politike deuises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present year of our Lord God," 1566, printed by John Cawood in 4to. *Dibdin's Ames*, iv. 401, No. 2551. I can find no reference to the dwelling-place of any copy of this book. But as we are among Captain Cox's books of 'philosophy . . . beside poetrie and astronomie, and oother hid sciences," it is more than possible that the *Boogyt of Demaunds* was "The Boke of Demaundes of the scyence of Phylosophye and Astronomie. Betwene Kynge Boccus and the Phylosopher Sydracke. Printed by R. Wyer, ‡ no date, 8vo, black letter, A to D in fours," a later edition of which Mr. Collier says is to be understood by the following entry in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 86,

* See Brunet, under *San Pedro*, iv. 193. The earliest French translation is *La prison damours*, Paris, Galiot du Pre, 1526, reprinted in Paris, 1527. Others are *Lyon* 1528, *Paris* 1533, 1552, etc.

† 'Swane' says the reprint, but it's 'Sonne' says Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 218.

‡ Robert Wyer's date is 1534-42, and Richard Wyer's 1548-50, both more or less, according to Ames and Dibdin.

nicholas Recevyd of nicholas Wyer, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the demaundes . . . iijl Wyer

No copy of this edition is specified.

XLIII. *The Hundred Mery Tales*. This is one of the best of our old Jest-Books, and is alluded to by Shakespere in his *Much Ado about Nothing*. We know of only 2 old editions of it, both by Rastell, and of each only one copy is known. The earlier of the two editions is no doubt that of 1526, "A .C. mery talys," whose colophon is "¶ Thus endeth the booke of a .C. mery talys. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Mermayd. At Powlys gatk next to chepe syde. ¶ The ycre of our Lorde .M. v. C. xxvi. ¶ The xxii. day of Noucember. Johannes Rastell. ¶ Cum preuilegio Regali." This was re-edited in 1866 by the discoverer of it, Dr. Herman Oesterley, from the only perfect copy known, which is in the Royal Library of the University of Göttingen. The copy of the later edition by Rastell is imperfect; it was discovered by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare in 1815, reprinted in the same year as Part II. of Mr. J. W. Singer's *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, (3 Parts 1814-16), and again reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 1864. Besides many small differences, this later undated edition leaves out 4 tales and three 'morals' that the 1526 edition has, but puts 3 new tales instead of them. Of the edition by Walley in 1558, no copy is known. The character of the book may be gathered from a short tale at the page on which my copy of Dr. Oesterley's edition chances to open and that next to it, p. 77, 78,—tales of which no originals were known to the Editor of them.*

xliv. *Of the plowmannys sonne that sayd he saw one make a Gose to krece sweetly.*

There was a certayn ploughmannys sonne of the contrey, of the age ofe .xvi. yeres, that neuer come moche among company, but alway went to plough and husbandry / On a tyme this yong lad went to a weddyng with hys fader, when he sec one lute vpon a lute.† And when he came home agayne at nyght, his moder askyd hym what sport he hade at weddyng. This lad answeyd and sayd, "by my trouthe, modher," quod he, "ther was one that brought in a gose betweene his armys, and tykled her so vpon the neck, that she creakyd the swetlyest that euer I hard gose creak in my lyfe.

XLIV. *The Book of Riddels*. This set of questions and answers like the *Demaundes Joyous*, p. 177, above, I have not been able to see, and therefore take Mr. J. P. Collier's description of it from his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 264. Mr. Halliwell says that the 1629 edition of the *Book* is in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere.

"The Booke of mery Riddles, Together with proper Questions, and wittie Proverbs to make pleasant Pastime. No lesse usefull then behooveful for any young man or child to know if he be quicke-witted or no—London Printed by Edward Alde, dwelling in Little Saint Bartholomewes, neere Christ-church. 1600. 8vo. B.L. 24 leaves.

We can very well believe that this was not only "the book of riddles" which Master Slender had lent to Alice Shortcake, but that it was the edition which Shakespeare had in his mind when he wrote "The Merry Wives of Windsor" about the date when the reprint before us (for such it no doubt was) was brought out. We take it also, that it was a recent edition of the same "book of riddels" which Laneham in his letter from Kenilworth mentions in 1575 as in the library of Captain Cox. (See vol. i. p. 451.)

* The 56th. Tale alludes to the Coventry Plays. A parish priest of a village in Warwickshire preaches to his parishioners on the Twelve Articles of the Belief, and winds up thus: "these artycles ye be bounde to beleue, for they be trew, & of auctoryte. And yf you beleue not me / then, for a more suerte, & sufficyent auctoryte / go your way to Couentre / and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe" (p. 100). Dr. Oesterley notes that these XII Articles of the Creed are in the Chester Play of "The Emission of the Holy Ghost," *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. 1847, p. 134, Shaksp. Soc.

† "The lute is made with a round back like a half globe, the belly of it flat, and even to the finger-board." *Sir P. Leicester's Common-place Bk.*

How many times it may have been reprinted between 1575 and 1600 it is impossible to state; but we never find it entered in the Stationer's Registers, and the oldest impression hitherto known, until the discovery of the present copy, was of the year 1629, when it was "printed by T. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor at the signe of the blue Bible." We may be sure that such a collection was in great popular demand, but between 1631* and 1660 we are aware of no reproduction of it: in 1660 it was "printed for John Stafford and W. G. and are to be sold at the George near Fleet bridg." All copies are in black letter, and the intermediate edition of 1631 was printed by Robert Bird in Cheap-side.

The wording of the title-page is nearly the same in all the copies we have been able to examine, but it is to be observed that the impression of 1660, although it announces "proper questions and witty proverbs," contains nothing of the kind: nevertheless, it is obviously complete, with the word *Finis*, and the initials of the publishers, in a chaplet, at the end. The "proper questions and witty proverbs" was therefore a false pretence, and the book consists of only 12 leaves. All Editions have the following lines, but they are sometimes differently divided:—

"Is the wit quicke!
Then do not sticke
To reade these Riddles darke:

Which if thou doo,
And rightly too,
'Thou art a witty sparke."

Later copies than the one we have used read "Is *thy* wit quicke," and it is perhaps right. The antiquity of some of the riddles is thus established, carrying us back fourteen years anterior to the date of Lancham's Letter from Kenilworth:—

"What is that round as a ball,
Longer than Pauls steeple, weather cock & all?"

The answer called "solution" is "It is a round bottome of thread when it is unwound." Now, we know that the steeple of St. Paul's, with its weatherecock, was consumed by fire, occasioned by lightning, in June, 1561. (Stow's *Annales*, p. 1055, edit. 1605, edit. 1631, p. 647, and this vol. p. 134.) The riddle was therefore older than 1561.†

Some of the best Riddles are in "The Demaundes Joyous," printed by Wynken de Worde in 1511, (reviewed in vol. i. p. 217) the first of which is—"Who bare the best burden that ever was borne?" and the answer, "That bare the asse when our lady fled with our lorde into Egypte." It stands thus in our "Booke of Merry Riddles," 1660—"Who bare the best burthen that was ever bore at any time since, or at any time before?" with the following "solution:" "It was the asse that bare both our Lady and her Son into Egypt." Again in the "Demaundes Joyous" we have, just afterwards—"What space

* The exact wording of the title-page of the edit. 1631 is: "A Booke of Merrie Riddles. Very meete and delightfull for youth to try their wits.—London. Printed for Robert Bird and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Cheapeside at the sign of the Bible. 1631." 12mo. B. L. 11 leaves.

We quote the following from the Edit. 1630, the more curious because it contains the words of a very old Catch, then usually sung by "Ale Knights" and which has come down to our day.

"Q. I am foule to be looked unto,
Yet many seeke me for to win,
Not for my beauty, nor my skin,
But for my wealth and force to know.
Harde is my meate whereby I live,
Yet I bring men to dainty fare:
If I were not, then ale-knights should
'To sing this song not be so bold,

Nutmegs, ginger, cinamon and cloves,
'They gave us this jolly red nose.
'The foure parts of the world I show,
'The time and howers as the doe goe;
As need full am I to mankind
As any thing that they can find.
Many doe take me for their guide,
Who otherwise would runne aside.

"Sol(ution.) It (is) a Loadstone, for without it no Pilot were able to guide a ship in the Ocean Seas."

† This seems hardly conclusive. E. H. K.

is from y^e hyest space of the se to the depest?"—"But a stoness cast." In our more modern form it is given as follows—"What space is from the highest of the sea to the bottom?—Solut. A stoness cast, for a stone throwne in, be it never so deepe, will go to the bottome." A third instance from the "Demaundes Joyous" is this—"How many calves tayles behoueth to reche from the erthe to the skye?—No more but one, if it be longe enough." The Riddle-book of 1600 has in it nearly the same terms—"How manie calves tailes will reach to the sky?—Solut. One if it bee long enough." The two last are precisely the same in the impressions of 1629, 1631 and 1660.

The following was no doubt, invented and printed before the Reformation, but it is not in the "Demaundes Joyous" for obvious reasons: "Of what faculty be they that everie night turn the skins of dead beastes? Solution. Those be Fryars, for everie night at Mattins (Vespers?) they turn the leaves of their parchment bookes that be made of sheep skins, or calves skins." The following is of a different character to the riddles we have already noticed, but it is not at first very intelligible:—

"L and V and C and I,
So hight my Lady at the Font stone."

The solution, so to call it, is thus given: "Her name is Lucy, for in the first line is LVCI, which is Lucy: but the Riddle must be put and read thus: fifty and five a hundred and one: then is the riddle very proper, for L standeth for fifty, & V for five, C for an hundred and I for one."

"Some are in rhyme, as the following, which is in Substance and in prose, also in the "Demaundes Joyous:"—

"A water there is which I must passe; a broader water there never was,	And yet of all waters that ever I see To pass it over is lest jeopardie."
---	--

The solution in 1600 is, "It is the due [dew] for that lyeth over all the world:" "Demaundes Joyous" adds "Which is the broadest water and the leest jeopardye to passe over."

"The most curious and interesting part of this little volume consists of a list of "witty Proverbs," which as we have stated, are altogether omitted in the reprint of 1660. They are entirely miscellaneous, and we select only a few of the most pointed and satirical.

'There is no vertue that povertie destroyeth not.
All weapons of warre cannot arme feare.
Chuse not a woman, nor linnen cloth, by a candle.
He helps little that helpeth not himselfe.
He knoweth enouge that knoweth nothing, if so bee hee know how to holde his peace.
He danceth well enough to whom Fortune pipeth.
He that liveth in Court dyeth upon straw.
That is well done is done soon enough.
Marvell is the daughter of ignorance.
The deeds are manly, and the words womanly.
He that soweth vertue shall reape fame.
The hearts mirth doth make the face fayre.
He that is in poverty is still in suspition.
He that goeth to bed with dogs riseth with fleas.
Fryars observants spare their owne, and cate other mens.
All draw water to their owne mill.'

"In the whole there are 131 of the Proverbs.

"The following shows that some of the proverbs are of foreign origin:—

"Venice, hee that doth not see thee doth not esteeme thee."

This is of course, Shakespeare's 'Venezia, Venezia, chi non te vede non te pregia'* (L. L. L., A. iv. sc. 2) which, perhaps, he had from Florio's "Second Fruits" 1591, but without the sequel; which, among other places, we meet with in Howel's Letters, p. 53, edit. 1655,

"Venetia Venetia, chi non te vede non te pregia,
Ma che t'ha troppo veduto te dispregia:"

Which has been thus translated:—

"He who ne'er saw thee, Venice, cannot prize thee.
He who too much has seen thee must despise thee."

Thus we see that our great dramatist may be illustrated from the most unlikely sources, for there was nothing too vast for his intellect, nor too insignificant for his observation. The small book of Riddles in our hands throws light upon two of his noble dramas."

XLV. *The Scauen Sorors of Women*. 'I am not acquainted with any tract bearing this title,' says Mr. Halliwell, and so say I. Any one who has not read the curious set of poems on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's 4th volume of *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, should read them forthwith: they are The Payne and Sorowe of Epyll Maryage, The Boke of Mayd Emlyn, The Schole-house of Women, The Proude Wyues Pater-noster (see next article here), A merry Jeste of a Shrewde and curste Wyfe lapped in Morelles skin (see No. XXVI. above), A Treatyse shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women NowaDayes, and a Glasse to Viewe the Pride of Vaine-Glorious Women.

XLVI. *The Proud Wives Paternoster*. Customs founded on the weaknesses of human nature abide; and as women in early days didn't like going to church when it rained (*Babees Book*, p. 36, l. 12). so they don't now; as, when there in old time, they lookt at one another's dresses, envied their neighbours' finery and resolved to outdo it, so they do now, more or less; and as men of old quizzed them for it, and protested against waste of money on overgay frocks &c., so do some now. When will women dress as comfort and good sense (and men?) dictate and not to outbrave other women, or imitate nasty French models? But one mustn't grumble at small faults in great goods, and I hope we're on the mend: short frocks are in, chignons out; may sausages and pads soon disappear, and female heads retake their natural shape!

The Proud Wife goes to church, like other wives, thinking how 'to go gaye' and 'as gorgyous as other.' She says the clauses of the Pater Noster, and adds thought-tags not in the original Lord's Prayer, whereof here is a specimen:

¶ *Adueniat regnum tuum*—thy kingdom come to vs
After this lyfe, when we hens shall wende!
But whyle we be here now, swete Jesus,
As other women haue, suche grace in me sende,
That I may haue, Lorde, my heede in to wrap,
After the guyse, kerchiefes that be fyne,†
And thereon to sette some lusty trymme cap,
With smockes wel wraight, soude with sylken twyne.

* In the Folio, *venchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te ferrecha*, Booth's reprint, p. 132, col. 1.

† Compare Chaucer's Wife of Bath, *Proh. Cant. Tales*, l. 453 5. (Group A, § 1):

Hir *couchchiefs* / ful fyne weren of grounde
I dorste swere / they weyeden ten pounde
'That on a Sondag / weren *ȝpon* hir heede

¶ *Fiat voluntas tua*—thy well [will] fulfilled be
 Lorde god, alway! as thys tyme doth requyre:
 And as my gossep that sitteth here by me,
 So let me be trymmed: nought elles I desyre. . . .

¶ *Sicut in celo et in terra*—in heauen as in erthe;
 Yt is alway sene, go we neuer so farre,
 That women aboue all, the beaute bereth;
 And without gaye gere our beaute we marre;
 Therefore, good lorde, let this be a-mende,
 And gaye gere to were, that I may haue,
 Or elles my lyfe wyll haue an ende:
 For very pure thought [anxiety], nought can me saue.

The Proud Wife nearly swoons; but her gossip wrings her finger and revives her, and then sympathises with her in her trouble—the stinginess of her husband who won't give her money to buy fine clothes. The Gossip tells her how to manage the man: take a third of his gains, and spend it on 'rybandes of sylke . . with tryangles trymly made poynte deuyse,' 'fyne hoose,' and 'trym shos;'* then ask him for whatever she wants, but not when he's angry; crave it with loving countenance and fair words, asking only for small trifles at first, and then she'll get whatever large gifts she wants. But if he won't attend to her, and plays the churl, then the Wife must do so too, seize half of his goods—half is hers, and half his.

The Proud Wife says she shall get nothing but fists and staves if she does ask her husband for money, and so she shall take what she can, and get another mate. After service, though, she does ask her goodman, and he quietly reasons with her; tells her he's in debt, has only £20 to pay a hundred with, wears simple clothes himself, and cannot give her anything unless he steals it." His Wife only abuses and threatens him; and he, poor man, goes to consult his curate about it. After Mass, the priest can only say, 'do well and trust in God;' and the poor man goes home, to find that his wife has carried off all his 'short endes & mony that he had in store,' so that he's undone for ever.

"Suehe *Pater Noster* some wyues do saye." But instead of it they'd better say 'the gou[ld]en Paternoster of deuocion,' of which we'll quote one stanza:

Chryt Jesu our kynge, and his mother dere,
 Be in our nede our socour and comforte,
 Our soules from synne to preserue clere,
 That the flame of charyte in vs reporte;
 To whom that we may resorte
 With blisful arming both all and summe;
 Swete Jesus! for vs exhorter,
 That vnto vs—*Adueniat regnum tuum.*

This abstraet is made from W. C. Hazlitt's reprint of the poems in *Early Popular Poetry* iv. 147-178, from the undated edition in the Bodleian, by Kynge, 576 lines. John Awdley's edition, licensed on Aug. 14, 1560 (see the next article) has not come down to us, but we have two editions by John Kynge, one dated 1560, and the other undated.

The Proude Wyves Pater noster that wolde go gaye, and undyd her Husbonde and went her waye. Anno Domini MDLX. [With a woodcut on the title of a man with purses at his girdle. *Colophon*] Imprinted at London in Paules Church yearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kynge. 4to, black letter.

* Compare again Chaucer's 'Wife,'

Hir *hosen* weren of *fyn* scarlet reede
 fful streite yteyd / and *shoes* ful moyste and newe.
ib. l. 456-7, Ellesmere MS.

The License for this on June 10, 1560, has been already quoted from the Stationers' Register A, at p. 125 above. The title of the unique Bodleian copy is

The Proude wyues Pater noster, that wolde go gaye, and vndyd her husbonde and went her waye. [With a woodcut on the title of two women conversing, the righthand one the same as that on p. 167 of my reprint of Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*. Colophon.] ¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Churcheyarde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kynge. 4to. black letter. (*Hazlitt*.)

XLVII. *The Chapman of a Peneworth of Wit*. This is the poem printed by Ritson in his *Auncient Popular Poetry*, 1791, from the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff. ii. 38, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 193—from the Harl. MS. 5396, the Auchinleck MS. (as printed by Mr. D. Laing) and the Cambridge MS.—under its other title of “How a Merchande dyd hys wyfe betray.” An edition that has not reached us was licensed on Aug. 14, 1560.

“R_p of John Sampson,* for his Lycense for the pryntinge of the proude wyues pater noster: a *panyworth of wytt*, and the plowmans pater noster, the xiiij of auguste xij^d”

Other editions were licensed to John Charwood on 15 January 1581-2 (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) and to Edward White on 16 August, 1586, (*ib.* p. 213), but they have not reached us, nor has any other early printed copy. The earliest MS. of the poem is the Auchinleck, 1320-30 A.D., edited by Mr. David Laing for the Abbotsford Club in 1857, as “A Penni-worth of Witte, Florice and Blanche flour, and other Pieces of Antient English Poetry.” It contains a few lines more than the MSS of 100 or 120 years later printed by Ritson and Mr. Hazlitt; but the Harleian MS. only contains half the poem. Mr. Laing says that the origin of the poem is the fabliau of “La Bourse pleine de sens” printed in the third volume of Barbazan's collection of *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1808.

A merchant has a true wife, but neglects her for a paramour or concubine, to whom he gives rich gifts. When he is going to sea, he asks his wife whether she has any money to give him to buy her a present. She gives him a penny to buy her a Pennyworth of Wit, and keep it in his heart. The merchant sails to France, and buys his leman brooches, jewelry, and many fair things. Then, in the hearing of an old man, he wonders where he can get a pennyworth of wit for his wife. The old man answers ‘Have you a leman or a wife?’ ‘Both,’ says the merchant, ‘and I love my paramour best.’ ‘Then,’ says the old man, ‘when you get home, put on old clothes; say that you've been shipwrecked, have lost everything, and have slain a man; ask for a night's refuge; and live with the woman who treats you best.’ For this Pennyworth, the merchant pays his wife's penny, and acts on the advice. His paramour sees him coming in old clothes, declares she won't admit him: and on hearing his story, threatens to fetch the bailiffs if he doesn't go off. He does go, to his wife; and she receives him gladly, like the Nutbrown Maid, says she'll shelter him, work for him, beg his pardon of the king; “I will never forsake thee in thy woe!” Next morning he dresses himself richly, and goes to his paramour. She now is eager to kiss him and abuse his wife. But he won't have it. She puts down all the presents he has given her, £400 worth; and he sends them home to his wife as her own, bought with her penny; and lives with her happily ever after.

III. CAPTAIN COX'S ANCIENT PLAYS.

We have now reached another division of Captain Cox's books, his four “auncient Playz.” Of these, the first,

* He is Awdeley, who wrote the *Fraternity of Vocabondes*, and was called Sampson Awdley, or John Sampson. There's an entry in the Stat. Reg. with his aliases. (See the *Fraternity*, with Harman's *Caveat*, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.)

XLVIII. *Youth and Charitte*, is no doubt that of which another edition was licensed to John Wally or Waley in 1557, and the entry of which, already quoted at p. 155, is among the earliest in the Stationers' Register A, and is on leaf 22:

'To mr. John Wally these bokes, Called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the ffre and the boye* / stans puer ad mensam;† a nother, *youghthe, charyte, and humylyte*; an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundredth mery tayles‡ ijs

A copy of this edition—or perhaps a later and more carelessly printed one from the same press§—is in the British Museum (C. 34. b. 24) "Thenterlude of youth" over cuts of Charitie and Youth, with the colophon, "Imprinted at London by John waley / dwellyng in Foster lane." Another edition is also in the Museum (C. 34. e. 38) "The Enterlude of youth," over cuts of Charite, Youth (the cut used in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, for a Bohemian, p. 166 of my reprint 1870) and a third figure for Humility (the cut in Boorde's *Introduction*, for a Dane, p. 162 of my reprint); and as the colophon is "Imprinted at London in Lothbury over a . / gainst Sainct Margarytes church by me / Wylyyam Copland . /," the date of the book must be 1562 or after, as Copland was at the Three Cranes wharf in the Vintry in 1561, and at the Rose Garland, Fleet St. before that. The Rev. S. R. Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, 1843, p. 309 &c. reprints a fragment of four leaves of another edition.||

Charity tries to persuade Youth to follow God's laws, but Youth scorns him, and threatens to stab him; so he goes away to fetch Humility to convince Youth. Then comes Riot from Newgate, and promises Youth some wine and a wench at the tavern, and gets him Pride as his servant. Pride suggest that Youth shall take a wife; but Ryot poohpoohs this, and says he must have Pride's sister, Lady Lechery, as his lemman. She comes, to Youth's delight, and they are all going off to the tavern, where Pride is to be Rector Chori (see my pref. to *Awdeley* etc., p. xv), when Charity interrupts them; but they chain him hand and foot, and go on. Humility then comes up, and looses Charity, and the tavern party come back to them. A dispute for Youth follows: At first he promises to follow Riot; but, on hearing from Charity how Jesus bought back men from hell with his blood, desires to save his soul, and betakes himself to God.

As a sample of the play, and the 2 editions (of which Copland's is the more correct) take Ryot's speech as to what he can teach Youth, sign C. iii.

John Waley, 1557.

Syr [I] can teache you to play at the dice,
At the quenes game, and at the Irysche,
The Treygobet and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can theche you to play,
At the triumph, and one and thyrtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an* other they call dewspace.
Yet I can tel you more, & ye wyll con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the blanke,
And many sportes mo.

Wylyyam Copland, after 1561.†

Syr, I can teache you to play at the dice,
At the quenes game, and at the Irysche,
The Treygobet, and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can teche you to play.
At the triumph. and on and thirtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase.
And at an other they call dewspace.
Yet I can tel you mor, & ye will con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the blanke,
And mane sportes mo.

* See No. XXXI, p. 155, above.

† See No. XXXVIII, p. 173, above.

‡ See No. XLIII, p. 179, above.

§ I don't suppose that Coplande printed from Waley's edition.

|| Maitland had not seen Waley's edition in the Museum. I have compared his extracts with Waley's and Copland's books.

* ad, orig.

† He entered a book in 1567. *Stat. Reg. A. lf.*

XLIX. *Hickscorner*. Title "Hycke scorner" in a riband over a treble woodcut, with 3 single cuts below (the middle one an elephant with a castle on its back), and on the back, six single cuts of 1. Contempla[tion], 2 Pyte, 3 Frewyll, 4. Imagyna[cion], 5 Hyckscorner, 6. Perseue[rance]; of which 4 was afterwards used by Wm. Coplande for a Saxon, a Spaniard, an Egyptian, etc. in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (p. 165 etc. of my reprint); 2 for a Lombard, and a Latin man, by W. Copland, *ib.* p. 186; and for Boorde,* by R. Wyer, *ib.* p. 305; 5 by W. Coplande for a Bohemian, *ib.* p. 166.

The colophon is "Emprynted by me Wynkyn de Worde," over his device, the Sun and 2 planets ringed with stars, Caxton's monogram 'W C' below, and 'wynkyn de worde,' with his ornaments underneath.

First appear, one after the other, Pyte, Contemplacyon, and Perseuerance, each describing himself, and Pity complaining of the poverty then existing, how unkind rich men are, and how lords force widows to marry their men. Then comes Frewyll, boasting of his drinking and wenching, and calls Imagynacyon, who has been in the stocks, and lost his purse on a girl; who describes himself as the friend of lawyers and all who like lies, and who tells some of his tricks. To them comes Hyckscorner, from 'the londe of rumbelowe, thre myle out of hell,' and divers other places, but last from the sea, wherein all the good people going to Ireland were drowned, while all the bad ones in his ship, got to England safe. A quarrel follows; and when Pyte comes up to stop it, they all turn on him, chain his feet, and bind his hands with a halter. Pyte then moans over the state of England, and his rimes may be quoted as a sample of the play:

We all may say wele away
For synne *that* is now-adaye!†
Loo! vertue is vanysshed for euer and aye;
Worse was hyt neuer!

We haue plente of great othes,
And clothe ynoughe in our clothes,
But charyte many men lothes:
Worse was hyt neuer!
Alas! now is lechery called loue in dede, (B. iii.)
And murdure named manhode in euery nede;
Extorsyon is called lawe, so god me spede!
Worse was hyt neuer!

Youth walketh by nyght with swerdes & knyues,
And euer amonge, true men leseth theyr lyues.
Lyke heretykes, we occupy other mennes wyues
Now a dayes in englonde.
Baudes be *the* dystriers of many yonge women,
And full lewde counseyll they gyue vnto them:
How you do mary, beware you yonge men!
The wyfe neuer taryeth to longe.

There be many grete scorneres,
But for synne there be fewe mourners;
We haue but fewe true louers
In no place now a dayes.
There be many goodly gylte knyues,
And, I trowe, as well apparaylled wyues,
Yet many of them be vnthryfty of theyr lyues.
And all set in pryde to go gaye.

* See p. 170, 188 of *Introduction*, and *Roxburghe Ballads*, reprint, i. 154.

† These 2 lines are one in the original.

Mayers on synne dooth no correccyon.
 With gentyll men bereth trouthe adowne;
 Auoutry is suffred in euery towne:
 Amendymment is there none.
 And goddes commaundementes, we breke them all .x.
 Deuocyon is gone, many dayes syn;
 Let vs amende vs, we trewe crysten men
 Or deth make you grone!

Courtyers go gaye, and take lytell wages,
 And many with harlottes at the tauerne hauntes;
 They be yemen of the wrethe *that* be shakled in gyues,
 On themselfe they haue no pyte. [B iii back]
 God punyssheth full sore with grete sekenesse,
 As pockes, pestylence, purple, and axes,—
 Some dyeth sodeynly that deth full perylous,—
 Yet was there neuer so grete pouerte!

There be some sermones made by noble doctoures;
 But truly the feude dothe stoppe mennes eres;
 For god, nor good man, some people not feres:
 Worse was hyt neuer!
 All trouth is not best sayd,
 And our prechers now a dayes be halfe afrayde.
 Whan we do amende, god wolde be well apayde:
 Worse was hyt neuer!

Contemplacyon and Perseuerance loose Pyte, and he starts to arrest Hyckscorner and his mates. Meantime Frewyll comes back, and relates his and Imagynacyon's thefts. Perseuerance and Contemplacyon argue with him; and though he scorns them at first, he at last agrees to be sorry for his sins and save his soul. To them comes Imagynacyon; and he also, after much of his chaff, is persuaded to reform, and serve Perseuerance, while Frewyll serves Contemplacyon, both converting others. Of Hyckscorner's end nothing is said.

L. *Nu Gize*, or the New Guise. This is, no doubt, the Interlude published two years before Laneham wrote, 'for the purpose of vindicating and promoting the Reformation.' It was reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley; and copies of the original are in the British Museum (two), Bodleian (among Malone's books), Bridgewater House, Mr. Henry Huth's library, &c. "A New Enterlude / No lesse wittie: then pleasant, entituled / new Custome, devised of late, and for diuerse causes nowe set forthe, neuer before / this tyme Imprinted. / 1573. /

The players names in this Enterlude be these.

<i>The Prologue</i>	
<i>Peruerse Doctrine</i>	an olde Popishe priest.
<i>Ignoraunce</i>	an other, but elder.
<i>Newcustome</i>	a minister.
<i>Light of the gospel</i>	a minister.
<i>Hypocrisie</i>	an olde woman.
<i>Crueltie</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Auarice</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Edification</i>	a Sage.
<i>Assurance</i>	a Vertue.
<i>Goddess felicitie</i>	a Sage.

¶ Fower may play this Enterlude.

1	{	<i>Peruersedoctrine</i>	3	{	<i>Newe Custome.</i>
					<i>Auarice.</i>
2	{	<i>Ignoraunce</i> <i>Hypocrisie</i> <i>and Edification.</i>	4	{	<i>Assurance.</i>
					<i>Light of the Gospell.</i>
					<i>Crueltie.</i>
					<i>Goddess felicitie.</i>
					<i>The Prologue.</i>

[Col] "Imprinted at London in Fleetestreete by William How for Abraham Veale, dwelling in Paules church yearde at the signe of the Lambe." 4to. black letter, A, B, C, D, in fours, 16 leaves.

Perverse-Doctrine opens the play by complaining of the 'newe-fangled pratling elves'* who 'go about, vs auncients flatly to deface;' and specially of one young preacher who 'in London not longe since' in a Sermon reviled at the holy sacrament and transubstantiation, disallowed the Popish rites, and said they were all superstition. Scene 2 brings in New-Custome lamenting the ills of his time, and contrasting them with the good old 'auncient times before.' As the writer clearly knew little of the latter, when,

. . . in comparison of this time of miserie,
In those daies men lyued in perfect felicitie,

we had better take his account of the former.

. . . this is sure, that neuer in any age before, (*sign B. i.*)
Naughtiness and sinne hath ben practised more,
Or halfe so muche, or at all, in respecte, so I saye,
As is nowe (God amende all!) at this present daye,
Sinne nowe, no sinne; faultes, no faultes a whit.
O God! seest thou this? and yet wylt suffer hit?
Surely thy mercie is great; but yet our sinnes, I feare,
Are so great, that of Justice with them thou canst not beare.
Adulterie no vice: it is a thinge so rife;
A stale iest nowe, to lie with an other mannes wyfe;
For what is that but daliaunce? Couetousnesse, they call
Good husbandrie, when one man would faine haue all.
And eke a-like to that is vnmercifull extorcion,
A sinne, in sight of god, of great abhomination. (*sign B. i. back.*)
For Pride; that is now a grace! for, rounde about,
The humble-spirited is termed a foole or a lowte.
Who so will bee so drunken that hee scarsly knoweth his waye,
Oh, hee is a good fellowe! so now a daies they saye.
Gluttonie is Hospitalitie, while they meate and drinke spill
Whiche would relieue diuerse whom famine doth kill.
As for all charitable deedes:--they be gone, God knoweth:
Some pretende lacke; but the chiefe cause is slowth,
A vice most outragious of all others, sure,
Right hatefull to God, and contrarie to nature.
Scarse, bloud is punished, but euen for very shame;
So make they of murther but a trifling game!
O! how manie examples of that horrible Vice
Do dayly among vs nowe spring and arise!
But thanks be to God, that such rulers doth sende,
Whiche earnestly studie that fault to amende,
As by the sharpe punishment of that wicked crime
Wee may see, that committed was but of late time.
God direct their heartes, they may alwaies continue
Suche iust execution on sinne to ensue!
So shall be saued the life of many a man;
And God wyll withdrawe his sore plagues from vs than.

* Read Archbishop Grindal's 'Fruitful dialogue.' E. H. K.

Theft is but pollicie, Periurie but a face:
 Suche is now the worlde! so farre men be from grace!
 But what shall I say of Religion and knowledge
 Of God, whiche hath ben indifferent in eache age
 Before this? howbeit, his faltes then it had,
 And in some poyntes then was culpable and bad?
 Surely, this one thinge I may say aright;
 God hath reiected vs away from him quight,
 And geuen vs vp whollie vnto our owne thought,
 Utterly to destroy vs, and bring vs to nought.
 For do they not followe the inuentions of men?
 Looke on the Primitiue Church, and tell mee then
 Whether they serued God in this same wise,
 Or whether they followed any other guyse?
 For since Goddes feare decayed, and Hypocrisie crept in,
 In hope of some gaines, and lucre to win,
 Crueltie bare a stroke, who with fagot and fier,
 Braught all thinges to passe that hee did desier.
 Next, Auarice spilt all; whiche, lest it should be spide,
 Hypocrisie ensued, the matter to hide.
 Then brought they in their monsters, their Masses, their Light.
 Their Torches at noone, to darken our sight;
 Their Popes, and their pardoners, their Purgatories for sowles;
 Their smoking of the Church, and flinging of cooles.

* * * * *

I sayde that the Masse, and suche trumperie as that,—
 Popery, Purgatorie, pardons,—were flatt [B ij back]
 Against Goddes woorde, and Primitiue Constitution.
 Crept in through Couetousnesse and superstition,—
 Of late yeres, through Blindenes, and men of no knowledge,
 Euen suche as haue ben in euery age.

Act 2 introduces Light-of-the-Gospell encouraging New-Custome; Scene 2, traiter Hypocrisie advising Perverse-Doctrine and Ignorance how to act; but when she hears that Light-of-the-Gospell has come, she swears at him; he 'will worke vs the mischief:'

For since these Geneuian doctours came so fast into this lande,
 Since that time it was neuer merie with Englande.
 First came Newcustome, and hee gaue the onsay;
 And sithens, thinges haue gone worse every day. [Sign C. iij.]

Scene 3 brings in Creweltie and Auarice, advising stocks, prisons, hanging, burning, as in Queen Mary's days; but as that will not do, they change their names to Justice-with-Severity, and Frugality—Perversedoctrine being Sounde-doctrine, and Ignorance, Simplicitie, to deceive men and pervert their minds. However, in Act 3, Light-of-the-Gospell converts Perversedoctrine, advises Newcustome not to take too much heed to the fashion of a garment, but to mind that 'the conscience be pure;' and Edification, Assurance and Goddes-Felicitie, successively counsel the company.

The Captain's 'auncient playz' were the most moral books in his library.

LI. *Impacient Poverty*. In the play of "*Sir Thomas More* contained in the Harleian MS. 7368, and first printed in 1844 for the Shakespeare Society under the late Mr. Dyce's editorship, one of 'My Lord Cardinalls players' comes in, and offers to act a play—as the players afterwards did in *Hamlet*.—to More's question "I prethee, tell me, what playes haue ye?" the player answers:

Diuers, my lord: *The Cradle of Securitie*,*
Hit nayle o' the head,† *IMPACIENT POUERTIE*,

* Not extant. See an account of it in *Collier's Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272 sqq.—Dyce.

† Not extant.—D.

The play of Foure Pees, Dines and Lazarus,†
Lustie Juventus,‡ and The Marriage of Witt and Wisdome.§*
MOORE. *The Mariage of Witt and Wisdome!* that, my lads,
He none but that! the theam is very good.

No copy of the play is now known, but in D. E. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1764, continued by Is. Reede, 1782, and edited by Stephen Jones, 1812) we find the following entry on p. 328, col. 1.

90. A NEWE INTERLUDE OF IMPACIENTE POVERTE, newlye Imprinted M. V. L. X (We suppose 1560) 4to. This piece is in metre, and in the old black letter; and the title-page says: "*Four Men may well and caselye playe this Interlude.*"

LII. *Doctor Boords Breuiary of Health.* I have printed large extracts from this book, and given an account of it, of Boorde's other works, and his Life, in my edition of his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* 1547 or -8, and his *Dyctary* 1542, etc., for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series 1870. To this volume I refer my readers,—recommending them to read at least Boorde's comments on 7 Evils of England,—and only repeat here that the Breuiary is a brief 'alphabetical list of diseases by their Latin names, with their remedies, and the way of treating them. Other subjects are introduced, as *Mulier* a woman, || *Nares* nosethrilles, &c.' The *Breuiary* was written by Boorde in the year 1542, though it was not published till 1547,—with its 2nd part, the *Extrauagantes*,—having been 'examined in Oxford in June' 1546.* Boorde intended it as a companion to his *Dyctary*:

"I wolde that euery man hauynge this boke, shulde haue the sayd *Dyctary of Health* with this boke, considering that the one booke is concurrant with the other."

His own account of the *Breuiary*, in his Preface to it is as follows:

"Gentyll readers, I haue taken some peyne in making this boke, to do sycke men pleasure and whole men profyte, that sycke men may recuperate theyr health, and whole men may preserue theym selfe frome syckenes (with goddes helpe) as well in Phisicke as in Chierurgy. But for as much as olde, auneynt, and autentyke auctours or doctours of Physicke, in theyr bokes doth wryte many obscure termes, geuyng also to many and dyuerse infirmities, darke and harde names, dyffycyle to vnderstande, some and mooste of all beyng Greeke wordes, some and fewe beyng Araby wordes, some beyng Latyn wordes, and some beyng Barbarus wordes. Therefore I haue translated all suche obscure wordes and names into Englyshe, that euery man openlye and apartly maye vnderstande them. Furthermore, all the aforesayde names of the sayde infirmities be set togyther in order, accordynge to the letters of the Alphabete, or the .A. B. C. So that as many names as doth begyn with A. be set together, and so forth, all other letters as they be in order. Also there is no sickenes in man or woman, the whiche maye be frome the crowne

* (4 P's) By John Heywood. Reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. i.—D.

† Not extant. It was written by a player, if we may trust to a passage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*; see Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272.

‡ By R. Wever (for I cannot think with Mr. Collier—*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 317—that there is any reason for doubting that Wever was its author.) Reprinted in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i.

§ "The Contract [? MS.] of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome, very frutefull, and mixed full of pleasant mirth, as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers: never before imprinted . . . 1579. *Additional MS.* 26, 782 in the British Museum. This title is either copied from a printed edition or from a copy prepared for press. No early printed edition is known. Mr. Halliwell edited this Interlude for the Shakespeare Society in 1846. The Play acted in *Sir Thomas More* as *The Mariage* is 'nothing more than a portion of *Lusty Juventus*, with alterations and a few additions.—Dyce, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 61.

|| Furthermore now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man; for a woman, the silables conuerted, is no more to say as a man in wo; and set wo before man, and then it is woman; and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne; and also she is subject to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse; therefore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay. (Fol. lxxxii., sign L. ii., back.)

* Lowndes says that it was reprinted in 1548, 1552, 1577, etc. I have not been able to see the 1547 and 1548 editions, but of the 1552 one, and the next, I have titleless copies.

of the head to the sole of the fote, but you shall fynde it in this booke, as well the syckenesses the which doth parteyne to Chierurgy as to phisicke, and what the sickenes is, and howe it doth come, and medecynes for the selfe same. And for as much as euery man now a dayes is desyrous to rede brieve and compendious matters. I therefore in this matter pretende to satisfye mens myndes as much as I can, namynge this booke accordyng to the matter, which is. The Breuiary of health." (Fol. v., sign A. v.)

IV. CAPTAIN COX'S BALLADS.

We now come to the Captain's "bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient;" but unluckily Laneham didn't care so much for our old English ditties as he did for our story-books and poems, and has therefore stinted us to seven names of ballads, and that disappointing "a hundred more." What possesst the man to care more for the songs that showed off his "Spanish sospires, his French heighes, his Italian dulcets, his Dutch hovez, his doubl releas, his hy reachez, his fine feyning, his deep diapason, his wanton warblz, his running, his tyming, his tuning, & his twynkling," than for our merry old greenwood songs? Let's all vote him a noodle for this; though no doubt the "Gentlwemen" of his time liked the sentimental ballads best, as they generally do now. So we must forgive the ladies, and turn to the seven ballads that Laneham does name. Of them, only four have been identified; and as the first and last are partly given, with nine others (perhaps 9 of Captain Cox's 'hundred more') in a play of the period, we may as well make an extract from that first. The play is "A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art*. A Myrroure very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion: As it maye well appeare in the Matter folowyng. Newly compiled by VV. VVager [Woodcut] ¶ Imprinte at London by Wyllyam How for Richarde Johnes: and are to be solde at his shop vnder the Lotterie house" [ab. 1568, says Mr. Hazlitt's *Hand-book*]. (A B C D E F G in fours, but G iij signed A iij; leaf iij of D E F signed, but not that of A B C. British Museum Press-mark, C. 34. e. 37.)

After 'the Prologe,' [A] '¶ Here entreth *Moros*, counterfaiting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenance, Synging the foote of many Songes, as fooles were wont

Moros. BRome, Brome on hill,
The gentle Brome on hill hill:
Brome, Brome on Hiue hill;
The gentle Brome on Hiue hill,
The Brome standes on Hiue hill a.

¶ Robin, lende to me thy Bowe, thy Bowe,
Robin the bow, Robin lende to me thy bow a:

¶ There was a Mayde come out of Kent,
Deintie loue, deintie loue.
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Daungerous be:
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,

Fayre, propre, small and gent,
As euer ypon the grounde went,
For so should it be.

¶ By a banke as I lay, I lay,
Musinge on things past, hey how.

¶ Tom a lin and his wife, and his wiues mother,
They went ouer a bridge all three together;
The bridge was broken, and they fell in:
"The Deuil go with all!" quoth Tom a lin.

¶ Martin swart and his man, sodledum, sodledum.
Martin swart and his man, sodledum bell.*

* Skelton, laureat, (who died in 1529) has an evident allusion to the same song:

"With hey trolly lo, whip here Jak.
Alumbek sodyldym syllorym *ben*,
Curiowsly he can both counter and knak
Of *Martyn Swart* and all hys mery men."
Against a comely Coystrowne, etc., *Works* (1736), p. 254.

Martin Swart was concerned in the insurrection made by the lord Lovel and others against Henry VII, anno 1486, and was slain at the battle of Stoke; having been sent over with some troops, by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, sister to K. Edward IV. *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, vol. i. p. lxxxiv, note, ed. 1829. See also Dyce's notes in his *Skelton's Works*, ii. 93-4.

¶ Com ouer the Boorne, Besse,
My little pretie Besse,
Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me.*

¶ The white Doue sat on the Castell wall,
I bend my Bow, and shoote her I shall.
I put her in my Gloue, both fethers and all.
I layd my Bridle upon the shelve;
If you will any more, sing it your selfe.
Discipline. O Lorde, are you not ashamed,
Thus vainly the time to spende. . . .

Moros. I haue Twentie mo songs yet [A 3 back]
A fond woman to† my Mother,
As I war wont in her lappe to sit,
She taught me these and many other:
I can sing "a song of Robin Redbreast,
And my litle pretie Nightingale;"‡
"There dwelleth a iolly Foster here by west:"
Also, "I com to drink som of your Christmas
ale."
Whan I walke by my selfe alone,
It doth me good my songs to render.
Such pretie thinges would soone be gon,
If I should not some time them remember.

LII. *Broom, Broom on Hil.* This ballad is in the list of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, some 27 years before Laneham,§ but is now lost. Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* ii. 458-461 gives an account of the English ballad and tune of *The broom of Cowdon Knowes*, and others connected with it. Its burden is

With O the broom, the bonny broom,
The broom of Cowdon Knowes;
Fain would I be in the North Country,
To milk my daddies ewes.

But this does not seem identifiable with Laneham's ballad, the only one approaching to which is contained in the lines above, sung by Moros, in Wager's interlude, "which appears, say Mr. Chapell, to have been written soon after Elizabeth came to the throne . . .

Brome brome on hill,
The gentle brome on hill, hill:
Broome, broome on Hive hill,
The broome stands on Hive hill a."

* Shakespere has put these three identical lines into the mouth of Edgar in *K. Lear*. A moralization of the song is (with the music) in the editor's folio MS. Ritson, *ib.* p. lxxxv, note.

† I had to, was.

‡ [Appendix to the Royal MSS 58, leaf 7 bk. See also leaf 6, back.]

The lytyll prety nyghtyne gale
a-monge the leuys grene,—
I wolde I wer^a wyth hur^e all nyght!
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.

The nyghtynge gale sat one a brere,
Amonge the thornys sherpe & keyne,
and comfort me wyth mery chere:
but yet ye wot not home I mene.

She dyd apere all on hur^e kynde
a lady ryght well be-seynge,
w^{ith} wordys of loff tolde me hur^e mynde:
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.

hyt dyd me goode a-pon^e hur^e to loke;
hur^e corse was closyd all in grene;
away fro me hur^e hert she toke;
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

"lady," I cryed wyth rufull mone,
"haue mynd of me that true hath bene,
for I loue none but you alone:"
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

§ See below.

^a MS. I wolde I wer^e, I wolde I were. The final ll of the MS has always a line over it.

Mr. Chappell quotes the passage, and then observes "This repetition does not give the metre or the correct words of the song" meaning, of course, the later song known to us. "The tune, or upper part, was to be sung by one person, while others sang a foot, or burden, to make harmony."

"The ballad of *Brome on hill* in Mr. Gutch's *Robin Hood* ii. 363 is a modern fabrication." The earliest ballad of the kind preserved, is described by Mr. Chappell as a black-letter one in the Pepys Collection, i. 40, entitled *The new Broome*, London, printed for F. Cole, and consisting of 7 stanzas with the following burden:

The bonny broome, the well favour'd broome,
The broome blooms faire on hill;
What ail'd my love to lightly mee,
And I working her will?

LIV. *So wo* [= well] *is me begon, Trolly lo.* This song in praise of Serving-Men, Ritson printed in his *Ancient Songs from the Time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution*, 1790, p. 92, from the Sloane MS. 1584, 'a small book, partly paper, partly parchment, chiefly written by "Johannes Gysborn, Canonicus de Coucrham," whose manual or pocket book it seems to have been,* tempore Hen. 8.' The song is on the back of leaf 45, between the recipe for 'a souerayne laxatyffe' and a Sermon for Easter-day.

So well ys me be-gone, trolly lole!
So well ys me be-gone, trolly loly.†
Off *scruyng*‡ men I wyll begyne, Trolly, loley,
ffor they goo mynyon trym; Trolly loley.
Off mett & drynk & feyr clothyng, Trolly loley.
by dere god, I want none . Trolly, loley

* The book is an odd mixture of receipes, hymns, songs, a tract (imperfect) on a priest's duties, questions to be put at the confessional, etc. etc. From the latter, take

Questions for a woman.

(Leaf 8.)

Hauē ye maid youe more gayer in Reymēt off kercheus one your hed, for plesur of y^e world, ore off the pepull, ony tyme more thene other? haue youe obeyd you^r husband at alle tymes, os ye are bownd? haue youe weschyd your face wth any stylyd waters ore oyntementes to make youe fayrer in the syght off pepull? haue youe schewyd your brests open to tempt any to syne? haue youe had any enuy agayns any womane, that sche has bene fayrer then youe, or better louyd then youe? haue ye synnyd in lechere wth any mane be-syd your husband?
* * * * * haue youe bene mystemp^{er}yd wth ale att any tyme? haue ye sworne wth any womane in any purgacion apon a boke, & has for-sworne youe wyllingly? * * * * * haue ye bakbytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman, & browght them in a nyll name? haue yowe maid any solemē vowe of fast ore pylgrimage? haue youe payd your tythes & offerynges onto the chirche? haue youe done your pennans that ye haue bene Inueyd [?] be-fore tyme."

All the final *d*'s have a curly tail which may mean *e*. I have long intended to print one or two of these early Confessional treatises as a help to enable us to understand the practical working of the Romish system in English homes.

† Compare, in *Hyckescorner*, sign C. i.

Now wyll I synge, and lustely sprynge;
But whan my feters on my leges dyde rynge,
I was not glade, perde! but now, hey trolly lolly!

And William Cornyshe's song facsimiled in Mr. Wm. Chappell's paper in *Archæologia* xli. 372. one of a hundred specimens of a 'Trolly Lolly':—

Trolly lolly, lo! syng trolly loly!
my loue is to the grene wode gone;
now after her will I go!
syng trolly lolly, lo trolly lolly.

‡ *suyng*, *Ritson*.

B B

His bonet is of fyne scarlett . Troly lolye,
 Wit/ here as black os geitt . Troly* lolye.
 His dublett ys of fyne satyne . Troly lolye
 Hys shertt well mayd, & tryme;† Troly, lolye.
 Hys coytt itt is so tryme & rownde; Troly lolye.
 His kysse is worth A *hundred pound*.‡ Troly, lolye
 His hoysse of london black . Troly lolye
 In hyme ther ys no lack . Troly lolye.
 His face yt ys so lyk a man . Troly, lolye.
 Who cane butt loue hyme than? Troly, lolye.
 Wher so euer he bee, he hath my hert . Troly lolye.
 And shall to deth de part . § Troly lolye.
 So well ys me be-gone . troly, loly.
 S[o] well ys me be gone . Troly, lolye.

LV. *Ouer a whinny, Meg.* Not known now.

LVI. *Hey ding a ding.* This is the burden of the famous old ballad "Old Simon the King," and that was, no doubt, the ballad which Captain Cox possesst. It is printed in Durfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, iii. 143, and in the *Percy Folio Loose Songs*, p. 124, from which, as it gives the burden "for the first time complete," I reprint the first verse of the ballad below. The two tunes to which the ballad was sung, with a text of the ballad, and much interesting information about it, are given by Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* i. 262-269, and he has further notes on it in his vol. ii. p. 776, 792, 796.

In an humour I was of late,
 As many good fellowes bee,
that thinke of no matter of state,
 but the keepe merry Companye.
that best might please my mind,
 soe I walket vp & downe the towne;
 but company none cold I find
 till I came to the signe of the crowne.
 mine ostes was sicke of the mumpes,
 her mayd was ffisle at ease

mine host lay drunke in his dumpes:
 "they all had but one disease,"
 sayes old simon the *King*, sayes old
 Simon the *King*,
 with his ale-dropt hose & his malmesy
 nose,
 with a hey ding, ding a ding, ding,
 with a hey [ding, ding a ding, ding,]
 with a hey ding [ding], *quoth* Simon
 the king. ||

LVII. *Bony lass vpon a green.*

LVIII. *My bony on gauc me a bck* } Not known now.

LIX. *By a banke as I lay.* This exists in a MS., one of the Appendix of Royal MSS., No. 58, leaf 8, back.

[BY A BANCKE AS I LAY.]

By a bancke as I lay
 musyng my selfe A-lone—hey how!
 A byrdys voyce
 dyd me Reioyce,
 syngyng by-fore the day;
 And my-thought in hure lay
 she sayd wynter was past—hey
 how!
 Dan dyry, cum den, dan dyry,
 cum dyry, cum dyry,* cum dyry,
 cum dyry, cum dan! hey how!
 The master of musyke,
 the lusty nyghtyngale—hey how!

ffulle meryly
 & secretly
 She syngyth in the thyke,
 And vnder hure brest a prike,
 to kepe hure fro slepe—Hey how,
 Dan [&c]
 A-wake, there-for, younge men
 Alle ye that louers be—hey how!
 thus† monyth of may,
 soo fresh, soo gay,
 So fayre be feld on‡ fen,
 hath floryshe ylke a den;
 grete loy hyt is to see,—hey how!
 &c.

* Torly. *orig.*

† fyne, *Ritson*.

‡ Cl, *orig.*

§ ? do part, or *departe*, divide us.

|| The line is nearly all pared away.

* leaf 9.

† read 'this.'

‡ read 'and.'

Dr. Rimbault printed this ballad in his *Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, 1851, p. 53-4, with *few* and *adew* (like Mr. Collier*) for *fen* and *a den*,—and added on p. 55-6 a differing later copy, naming ‘noble James our king,’ from *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Music’s Melodic, or Melodius Musicke of Pleasant Roundelaies*, etc., 1609. Its second line is “musing on a thing that was past and gone,” which, the Doctor notes, is nearer to Wager’s “Musinge on things past, hey, how,” than the 2nd line of the Royal MS. copy. Dr. Rimbault also says “At the end of the only copy known to exist of a Collection of Secular Songs, printed in 1530, a Song is inserted in MS. beginning with the same words [as Wager’s?], but containing a laboured panegyric upon Henry the Eighth. The Editor has not seen this copy.”

Mr. Chappell gives the tune, and an account of this song at p. 92-3 of his *Popular Music*, vol. i.; and at p. 52 quotes from the Life of Sir Peter Carew, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, of Exeter, (*Archæologia*, vol. 28) “the king himself [Henry VIII.] being much delighted to sing, and Sir Peter Carew having a pleasant voice, the king would often use him to sing with him certain songs they call ‘Freemen Songs, as namely, ‘*By the bancke as I lay*,’ and ‘*As I walked the wode so wylde*,’” &c.

“And a hundred more,” says Laneham. Oh that we had their names!

V. CAPTAIN COX’S BALLADS.

We now come to the fourth and last section of Captain Cox’s books, his Almanacks. Professor De Morgan would be the right man to give us an account of these. I can only offer a list of those by the Captain’s three authors that have come under my notice, adding two of Dade’s, because he is mentioned in “The Kinge enioyes his rights againe” in the *Percy Folio Ballads* ii., 2519. We’ll take those in Bagford’s list first, because he mentions among them an unknown Caxton:

Bagford’s Collections. Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 8.†

A Catalouge of Almonickes sence y^e first printing of them.

and y^e first I haue met with is y^e prodnostication of Mr. Jasper Leate of Antwarpe, and translated out of Lattin into English; and printed in . . . by will Caxton, 4^o, 1493.‡

The grate & true prodnostication with a Almonicke composed by Mr. John Leat of Barthlom, Dr. Medicyne, and Astro[no]me, preceptor and Rector of y^e Scoold of Antwarpe, in 8 1521
in 4^o 1535
8- 1539
8- 1541

There is however a bit of an earlier almanac by Jasper Laet de Borchloen in the fragments in the Lambeth Library, namely for the year 1510, which is described by Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, p. 264.§

Among Bagford’s titlepages and fragments are the following by the Laets:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 18, N^o 58. (A.D. 1516.)

* *Stat. Reg.* i. 193-4. See my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 71, note.

† On another leaf Bagford queries when the first edition of the *Book of Knowledge* (Andrew Boord’s) was publisht. In 1547-8, no doubt. See my reprint *E. E. T. Soc.* 1870.

‡ Mr. Hazlitt enters, in his *Handbook* p. 484, col. 1, No. 4, a ‘Prognostication by Gaspar late, of Antwerpe. . . . for the yere, M. CCCCXXX. IIII; but he must have left out a C, and meant 1534: compare the 1533 title below.

§ Maitland also refers to two Prognostications by James Laet, in *Panzer*, II. 346, No. 711.

¶ The pronosticacion of maister Jaspar late, of borchloon / doctour in astrologie, of the yere . M. CCCC. xvi. trans/lated in / to ynglisshe, to the honorre of te [so] moost noble & vic- / torious kynge Henry the .viij. by your moost humble sub- / iect, Nicholas longwater, goeuerner of our lady conception in y^e renowned towne of Andwarpe, in sinte Iorge perys / (6 lines at the top of 1 leaf full of printing.)

Harl. 5937 leaf 11, N^o 26 (A.D. 1523)

A pronosticacyon / of Master Iasper Laet de / borchloen Doctor in medycy/ne for y^e yere of our lorde god / M. v. C. & .xxiiiij. ¶ Cum gracia et priuilegio. / ¶ Iasper Laet. (*Over a cut, and with elaborate borders. 2 leaves.*)

Ib. N^o 33, lf. 12 bk and 13. (A full sheet & complete Almanack, A.D. 1530; headline:)

¶ Almynack and Pronostication of the yere of oure lord M, LLLLL, and , xxx,

At foot:

Gaspar Laet The yonger, Docter yn Phy[syk]. Emprinted at Antwerpe by me Cristofel of Ruremunde.

MS. Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N^o 51 (A.D. 1533)

The pronosticaci[on] [calcu]led by mayster Iasper Lae[t of] / Andwarpe / vpon the merydian / of the sayd towne, for the yere of our lorde god . / M. D. xxxiiij. (over a cut of an astronomer, with a quadrant, looking at 6 stars and a comet, at back is) Bicause that .xliij [yeres] past my father mayster Jasp[ar] Laet, and .xx. yere before hym, his father mays[ter] Iohn laet (Whome Iesu pardon), bothe astro[no]mers, hath yerely, vnto the profyte of the comyn [welthe calcu]late and put forth certayn pronostycacions wherfore I have proposed . . to furnysshe the same, after the noble and true sci[ence of Astro]nomy

Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N^o 50. (A.D. 1541)

¶ Pronostica- / cion of the yere / of our Lorde . M, v^e, xlj, / ¶ Practysed by the re/nowned doctor in / Astronomy and / Physicke / Iasper Laet /. (*On the back is:*) "For as much as I haue taken vpon me yearly to shewe the influences with theyr operations here beneth vpon earth, and that, folowyng alwaye, for the most parte, Ptolome in his seconde boke Apotelesmaton, as one that is best alowed of experte Astronomers, notwithstandinge that he is very brefe and harde in his writyng: Therefore shall I fy[r]ste brefely recyte the princypall fundamentes of our present Pronostication, leste it shulde be supposed she were pronosticated vaynly and without fundament.

"The fyrst fundament shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the yeare of .xxxix. last past, the xviii. day of Apryll, at .iiij. of the clocke at after noone, which was of the greatnesse of .ix. poyntes, which Eclipse shall yet geue influence very strongly, by reason of his distaunce from the orientall corner (for it befell in the .viii. degre of Taurus, in the .viii. house), and also because the same eclypse dyd last nerehande .ii. houres, as we dyd shewe at length at that tyme.

"The secounde fundament is & shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the yeare of .xl. last." (2 leaves. *I dont print the second.*)

leaf 18 back, no. 62 (A.D. 1542?)

✠ An Alm[a]nacke & P[ro]-/nostication of the ren[ow-] / med doctor in Astron[omye] / Iasper Laet the yere of [our] Lord God. .M. ccccc [xl.] / and the declaration of th[e] / signes and theyr qualitt[es] / with the son rysynge / ¶ Imprinted in Lon[don] / by Iohn Waley (2 leaves)

leaf 15 back. (under Borde's *Pronosticacyon* of 1545*) N^o 47 A.D. 1543

* One leaf. printed in my *Boorde*. p. 25.

Almanack / and Pronostica-/tion of Jaspar Laet. / Of the yare, of our / Lord God. M. D. / XLIII. / ¶ In this Almanacke ye / shall fynde, all the Epystles and Gos-/pels of euery Sondaye and holy daye. (2 *leaves*.)

A.D. 1544.

N^o 48 Pronostication of Ja[spar] / Laet doctor of Phisicke and Astro[nomer] / for the yere of our Lorde God / M. v^c. xliiij.

A.D. 1550.

A Pronostication for the year of oure Lorde M. CCCCC. L, calculated for the Meridian of Antwerp, &c. by Jasper Late, W. H. Octavo (*Herbert's Ames*, 1786, i. 584.)

We now come "unto Nostradam of Frauns," for printing whose Almanacs there is a regular shoal of licences and fines in the Stationers' Register A. Bagford's first title is that of the Almanac of 1566:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 14.

An Almanicke made by the Noble and worthy Clarke, Michaell Nostra[da]mes D^r in phisick: Imprinted at London by Jo. Kingston 1559

Id. an outhor of y^e same Nostridames, Imprinted by will: Copland for Nicolas England 1559

Harl 5937, lf 25, N^o 120

"An Almanacke / and prodigious premonstrati- on, made for the yeare of / grace. 1566. By / Mi. Nostrodamus, / § * § /

The God which eche mans visage well doth see,
His temple gates to come for to vnbarre:
And Pandores boxe vncovered shall bee,
A great thicke cloude for to dissolue from farre.

over a woodcut of a globe in a frame, with the legend 'Admirandus Altissimus.'

¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Denham." (Title only)

Bagford has also a leaf of one A.D. 1573, Harl. MS. 5937, lf. 25.

No. 123 (John Securis A.D. 1573)

¶ A Prognos-/tication made for the / yeare of our Lord God, / 1573. / ¶ Practised in Salisburie, by Iohn / Securis Maister of Art and / Phisicke / Anno Mundi 5535 / (over a cut of a warrior (?) on a 4-wheeled chariot drawn by 2 horses.)

¶ Imprinted at London, by Richard VVatkins, & Iames Robarts / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maies- tatis.

but the Stationers' Register A begins in 1558 with

Luke Haryson Lucke Haryson ys lycensed to prynte the p^ronostication of m^r nostradamus and also his almanack for the same yere viijd.

and in the year 1558-9

William Copland, for pryntinge of a p^ronostication of nosterdamus wⁱt^houte lycense, and for mysbehavynge hym selfe before the master and wardyns, was fyned at iijs. iiijd.

Mr. Halliwell says "Dibdin N^o 2733) mentions an "Almanacke for the yeare 1559 composed by Mayster Mych. Nostradamus," 8vo. In the Stationers' Register A, we have

m^r Wally Recevyd of m^r wallye for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & p^ronostication of nostradamus for this yere a^o 1562. viijd (MS. lf 85)

Of the Almanacs of "oour John Securiz of Salsbury" we find these entries in the Stationers' Register A:

(leaf 72 back, A.D. 1561-2.)

J. Wally R of master Wally for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke of John securys iiijd
 m^r Wally Recevyd of m^r wallye, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r John
 Securis for the yere of our lorde god 1563 viijd. (MS. lf. 85)

MS, lf. 134 back.)

T. marshe / Recevyd of Thomas marshe, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication { viijd
 of m^r John Securis for a^o 1566 / }

Mr. Halliwell says 'In the Bodleian Library is preserved "A newe Almanacke for the yere of our Lord God, 1567, practised in Salisbury by Maister John Securis, Phisitian."'

Lastly, we note the bits of Dade's Almanacs in Bagford's collection in Harl. MS. 5937, for the reason given above.

"No. 125. Dade. A prognostication in which you may beholde the state of this present yeere of our Lord God, M. DC. Made and set foorth by Iohn Dade Gent. practitioner in Phisicke. / Imprinted at London for Edward White, the assigne of Iames Roberts.

"No. 126. Dade. 1600. / An Almanacke and Prognostication in which you may behold the state of this yeere of our Lord God / 1600. / Beeing leape yeere. / Made and set foorth by Iohn / Dade Gent. practitioner in Phisicke. / Imprinted at London by Richard VVatkins and Iames Robertes / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. /" (Both in Harl. 5937, leaf 25 back.)

On leaf 7, back, Bagford also notes

"An Almanicke and prognostication in which you may behould y^e State of y^e Yeare of our L^d god 1599: made and set ffourth: by Jo: Dade Gent praktiser in phisicke, and Imprinted by Rich. Watkins & James Roberts in 8

Id. on in 12 by y^e same Dade, and Imprinted at London by Assignes of James Robertes . . . 1599
 . . . 1602

That a so-called Dade's Almanack was publisht so late as 1694, for the year 1695, see Harl. 5937, leaf 64, No. 338.

My reason for giving a sketch of all Captain Cox's books, and printing all his ballads, that I could get at, was, that my readers might contrast the literature of the reading unpious middle-class man of Elizabeth's pre-Shakespearean time,* with that of the same kind of man now, and also think whence Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, sprang, and what we owe to them. And surely, no member of the Stupid Party even, can want 'the good old times' of literature before 1575, back again in our Victorian age, far as we are from what we ought now to be. But still, don't let us misjudge the said old times; neither wholly, nor mainly, was their sky filled with cumuli of silliness or dark storm-clouds of coarseness; the sun of manliness was plainly seen, and rays of love, of friendly truth, and honest mirth, cheered the beholder's heart.

We now turn to compare the Englishman's list by Lancham, with the Scotchman's list in the *Complaynt of Scotland*; but must recollect that we are putting the Tradesman who has made his own way in the world, beside the Scholar, one who, though he has his affectations as well as Lancham, is a far more cultured man, and writes with a far higher purpose. He is a Reformer, part of the salt of the earth. To his more serious ends his book was at first wholly devoted; but happily he determined to

* He most probably couldn't read Chaucer, as his modern representative can't, though I hope our Societies are helping to alter that.

hand down to the aftertime an account of his countrymen's lighter readings and sports,—the books, songs, tunes, and dances, that cheered the hard life of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century.* He accordingly,—as Mr. James A. H. Murray will show in his edition of the *Complaynt* for the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society 1872 or 1873,—inserted into his book, after the sheets were printed, some pages on different paper, of which the part that concerns us now is as follows:

"I thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatione, i thynk it best that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhile enyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis, var glaid of this propositione. thn the eldest scheaiphird began, and al the laif follout, ane in ther auen place, it vil be ouer prolix, and no les tideus, to reherse them agaen vord be vord. bot i sal reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. sum vas in prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as efter follouis.

(1) The taylis of cantirberye.

[By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478. from a bad MS, and ab. 1484, from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus,) in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in *The Workes* (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wylliam Bonham in 1542, the Plowman's Tale being *after* the Parson's. The 3rd ed. of the Works is about 1550, says Mr. Bradshaw, by the Booksellers—Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, or Toy—and the Plowman's Tale is *before* the Parson's.]

(2) Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie.

[The prose Life (from the French *Romant de Robert le diable*) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercyfullest and myscheuous Robert ye deuyll. whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Jhesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.: and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr. Thomas reprinted this in vol. i. of his *Early Popular Romances*, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse Life, which, says Mr. Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library. The verse Romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS "which appears to have been transcribed word for word" (*Thoms*) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, i. 217-263: see also p. 264-9. As the verse text tells the same story as the prose one, I use it for the following sketch.

A good Duke of Normandy, to please his lords, weds the daughter of the Earl of Burgundy, but for 12 years has no child by her. For this they grieve greatly, and often pray for a child. At last the Duchess becomes convinced that God will not hear their petition, and so, on the night that she conceives, she prays to the Devil to send them a child, and vows she will give it, soul and body, to the Devil. Accordingly, a boy is born, and a terrible storm follows. The boy is very big; his teeth grow fast, and he bites his nurse's nipples off. He grows; bites other children, puts their eyes out, breaks their legs and arms; they call him "Roberte the Deuylle." At seven years old, he thrusts a dagger into his teacher's belly, for correcting him; he mocks priests, scorns clerks, and hurts men at their prayers. When he is older, his Father makes him a knight, that his vows may improve him; but he grows worse; at jousts, he kills knights, breaks horses' backs, and strikes down old and young. Then he makes a raid into the country, robs and kills, ravishes maidens and wives, pulls down abbeys, slays young children. His father sends men to take him; he puts out their eyes. When more men are sent, he gathers a band of thieves, kills men, spoils crops, eats flesh on Fridays, and cuts off 7 Hermits' heads. Wherever he goes, all people flee from him. This, at last, makes him repent; he begs his fleeing mother to stay, to tell him how he was born; and then he vows that he'll amend and go to Rome. He returns to his band of thieves, and exhorts them to repent too; but they mock him and refuse; so he kills them every one. Then he rides to an Abbey, prays for God's forgiveness, and sends the key of his treasure to his father, to make restitution for his robberies and sins. He then goes to Rome, prays the Pope's pardon, and confesses his sins to him. The Pope sends Robert to a hermit near, who has a revelation that Robert must counterfeit a fool, act like one, pull his food from a dog, sleep with dogs, and be dumb. All this, Robert does; acts the fool at the Emperor of Rome's court, gnaws one end of a bone while a dog gnaws the other, shares a loaf with the dog, and sleeps on straw with it. But soon the Seneschall of the Saracens invades Rome to win the Emperor's deaf and dumb daughter. The infidels are winning, when an Angel gives Robert a white steed and

* That it was hard,—yes, very hard,—see my Preface to *Lauder's Minor Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.

armour, and he soon routs the Saracens. He rides off, and his horse and armour vanish. All this, the Princess sees. Robert comes again as a fool to the Court; and when the Emperor asks who the White Knight is, the Princess always points to the Fool, for which her father abuses her. Again the Saracens invade Rome, and again Robert, armed by the Angel, routs the foe and disappears. On the second day of the fight, 6 knights sent by the Emperor, try to discover Robert, and one wounds him in the thigh. On this, the Saracen Seneschall wounds himself, personates Robert, claims the Princess, and is about to wed her, when she, by miracle, speaks, and exposes him. Robert is then found among the dogs, and will not speak till the Hermit tells him his sins are forgiven. He then weds the Princess, comes to Normandy, and is loved. The Seneschall invades and slays the Emperor, for which Robert kills him; and then comes home again, fears God, has a son (who is one of Charlemagne's knights), dies, and goes to heaven.

Nowe, all men beare these in remembraunce:
 'He that lyueth well here, no euyl death shall dye.'
 Yonge and olde, that delyteth to reade in storye,
 Yt shall youe styrre to uertuous lyuynge,
 And cause some to haue theyr memorye
 Of the paynes of hell, that ys euer durynge.
 By readyng booke, men knowe all thyng
 That euer was done, and hereafter shalbe.
 Idlenes, to myschief many a one doth brynge. . . .

The original of Robert the Devil was Robert, father of William the Conqueror, and sixth Duke of Normandy. Part of the legends about him have been transferred to a different person, Robert, King of Sicily (and Jerusalem,) Duke of Apulia etc., who tried to make peace between Edward III and the French king, and whom Froissart and others tell us of. The Romance of Sir Gowghter in the Royal MS 17, printed by Utterson in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, 8vo, vol. i, is in character 'substantially identical with *Robert the Devil*, the names, localities, and other adventitious features only being changed.' 'Sir Frederic Madden pointed out, in his edition of the *Old English versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, 1838, 4^o, that the foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and 'Robert of Sicily' is the tale of *Jovinianus*, which is told at considerable length both in the English and Latin *Gesta*.' (Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, i. 268.)]

- (3) the tayl of the volfe of the varldis end.

[If *wolf* can be *well*, or can have been changed into it, then 'a version of this tale taken from the recitation of an old nurse in Annandale is given in Robert Chambers's *Scottish Songs*, i. 26. A frog is the hero of it, and it is called either "The Padda Sang," or "The Tale o' the Well o' the World's End."]

- (4) Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mariet the deuyll.

[The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel,"* and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family.† *Leyden*, p. 237.]

- (5) The tayil of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis.

[A. S. *Eoten*, a giant. 'Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his *Dreme*, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V, to lull him asleep with 'tales of the red-etin and the gyre carlin.' *Leyden* p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the *Complaynt*, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue,	32
I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue	
Off Hectour, <i>Arthour</i> , and gentyll Iulyus,	
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,	
Off <i>Iasone and Media</i> , all at lenth,	36
Off <i>Hercules</i> the actis honorabyll.	
And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth.	
And of leill Luffaris storeis amabyll;	
And oft tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,—	40
Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioye,	
And <i>Seigis</i> all, of Tyir, Thebes, and <i>Troye</i> .	
The <i>Prophiseis</i> of Rymour, Beid, & <i>Marlyng</i> ,	
And of mony vther plesand storye,—	44
Off the reid Etin, and the gyir carlyng,—	
Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.	

* Otia Imperialia, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol i, p. 978.

† Forduni Scotichron. a Goodall, vol. 2, p. 9.

'The Red-Etin is still a popular character in Scotland; and, according to the vulgar etymology of his name, is always represented as an insatiable gormandizer on red or raw flesh; and exclaiming, as in the story of Jack and the Bean-stalk,

Snouk butt, snouk ben,
I find the smell o' earthly men,'
Leyden, p. 235.]

(6) The tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir.

[*Ovid's Metamorphoses*, iv. 663 etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.]

(7) The prophysie of merlyne.

[See the Lyndesay extract above, l. 43. Editions by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529 are known, and Warton says there was an edition by John Hawkins in 1533. 'Here begynneth a Lytel Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecie of Marlyn.' Colophon: 'Here endeth a lytell treatyse of Marlyn, whiche prophesied of many fortunes or happes here in Englande. Enprynted in London in fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde the yere of our lorde a M CCCCC and X.' 4to, 44 leaves. (*Hazlitt*.) 'This poetical romance,' says Lowndes, 'differs in many respects from the MS. copies. See Brydges's *Censura Literaria*.' After the date of the *Complaynt* we have a book which perhaps contains some Prophecies made before that date: "The Whole Prophecie of Scotland, England, & some part of France, and Denmark, Propheied bee meruellous *Merling*, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Weldhane, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno. 1603." And reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1833. The Prophecies of 'Merling' are on pages 3-9, 12-14 of the reprint; and another version of parts of the second of these was printed by Mr. Lumby for the Early English Text Society, in *Bernardus de Cura Rei famularis* etc. 1870, p. 18-22: see Preface, p. ix.]

(8) The tayl of the giantis that cit quyk men.

[Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Beanstalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to "Kings, Covenanters!" "Duck," or "Hy-Spy," we used to gather into an entry to "tell boglie tales," till our hairs stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. Murray.]

(9) On fut, by fortht, as i culd found.

[That is, 'On foot, by Forth, as I did go.' A ballad not now known.]

(10) Vallace.

[Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 A.D. It is translated from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (*Hazlitt's Handbook*). Many later editions exist. The best is from the unique MS in the Advocates' Library, dated 1488, edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow in 1869, with all its mistakes. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.]

(11) The bruce.

[By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only 2 MSS of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487. The inferior MS is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is complete, is dated 1489, was edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow, with all its mistakes, in 1869. The Rev. W. W. Skeat is now re-editing the work from both MSS and the old printed editions for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series: Part I. was publisht in 1870. Mr. Cosmo Innes made a dreadful mess of the text, which he symmetrized, in his edition for the Spalding Club, 1856. Mr. Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, has found two MSS containing parts of a verse Troy Book by Barbour, and another very long MS of Saints' Lives in verse, also by Barbour.]

(12) Ypomedon.

['The Life of Ipomydon.' Colophon: 'Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;' no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's *Early English Metr. Rom.* p. 505 etc., ed. Bohn.

"The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Thebane war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise." (*Leyden*, p. 240.)]

- (13) The tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay.

[Robert Chambers gives the story of 'The Black Bull of Norroway' in his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 95-99, and that of the similar 'Red Bull of Norroway' at p. 99-101.]

- (14) The Tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.

[This was doubtless a short story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 70. The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: "The History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, etc. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner." Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr. Corser's second sale (*Catalogue*, p. 55), where was also sold "HERCULES. Sensuyt les proesses et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk. I., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d."]

- (15) The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land.

[Can this be "King Estmere" in *Percy's Reliques*? Percy tore this ballad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600-7.]

- (16) Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye.

[Some Scandinavian legend.]

- (17) The tayl of the four sonnis of aymon.

[Capt. Cox, III, p. xix, above.]

- (18) The tayl of the brig of the mantribil.

[No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce, it is said that Charlemagne

"... wan *Mantrybill*, and passed Flagot."

Ed. Pinkerton, i, 81 (*Leyden*, p. 237).]

- (19) The Tail of syr euan, arthours knycht.

[No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of 'Ywaine and Gawin,' printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances* from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of king Arthur, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Ivent, Eingland Kappe*;—the history of Ewain, Arthurs best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the *Complaynt*.—*Sagan af Herra Beuous*, the Romance of Sir Bevis."]

- (20) Rauf collzear.

[Dunbar, in his address 'To the King,' and Gawin Douglas, in his 'Palice of Honour,' mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that 'Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuik, anno 1572,' which Mr. David Laing reprinted in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822: "Heire beginnis the taill of Rauf Collzear, how he harbrait King Charlis." See Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, p. 88-92. A capital poem that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of *John the Reve* in the Percy Folio, (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it.) and is told in humorous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

. . . hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand
Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all
Half the breid of the hall.

Mr. Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent *Select Remains*. The volume contains several English pieces.]

(21) The seige of millan.

[Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the *Complaynt* tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.]

(22) Gauen and gollogras.

[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Syr Gawyn*, XII, p. xxxiv above.]

(23) Lancelot du lac.

[No early printed English *Lancelot* is known; and we have only one MS, a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, carelessly printed by Mr. Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (*Lancelot of the Laik*), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French *Lancelot*.]

(24) Arthour knycht, he raid on nycht,
vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.

[Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses:

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
How mony miles to Aberdeagie?
'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight;
We'll no win there wi' candel light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.]

(25) the tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the see.

This tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of *Roswall and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
Or great *Florent of Albanie*,
My heart, if ye bear love to me;
Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
For your dearest true-love's sake;
Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green.*
For the love of your Lady sheen.]

(26) The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye.

[Leyden says (p. 230) "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (*Scotichronicon* lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'coeperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.]

(27) The tail of the pure tynt.

[Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycoat' a common nursery tale." Leyden, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashie-Coat (*Fife*)' is told in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, 1870, p. 66-8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of *Cinderella*."]]

(28) Claryades and maliades.

[No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr. David Irving edited the romance of *Clariodus* from an imperfect MS of about 1550 A.D., for Mr. Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS, and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feasting, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland &c. go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.]

* Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.

- (29) Arthour of litil bertangze.

[This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814. "Arthur of Brytayne. The hystory* of the moost† noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe‡ by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:" no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 63). Colophon: "Here endeth the history of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles church yeard at the sygne of the Cocke by Roberte Redborne." Only 2 perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.]

- (30) Robene hude and litil ihone.

[See Capt. Cox's *Robin Hood*, XXII, p. 51, above. It's the same book, no doubt.]

- (31) The meruellis of mandiuail.

[We know 3 editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date. 1. "Here Begynneth a lytell treatyse or booke named Johan Mandeuyl Knyght born in Englonde in the towne of saynt Albone and speketh of the wayes of the holy londe toward Jherusalem, and of marueyles of Ynde and of other dyuerse countries." Colophon. "Here endeth the boke of Johan Mauzdevyll knyght, of the wayes towarde Jerusalem, & of the meruayles of Ynde & of other dyuerse countries. Emprynted at Westmynster by Wynken de Worde. Anno domini M. CCCC. LXXXIX." 8vo. An edition was publisht in 1725 from the Cotton MS, Titus C. xvi,—incorrectly, I expect—and was reprinted in 1839 and 1869, with an Introduction by Mr. Halliwell, and some very quaint woodcuts from the MS and the old printed editions. Sir John Mandeville left England for Jerusalem etc. in 1322, and wrote his Travels in 1356, thirty-four years after he started. Later on, the work was turned into a chap-book: "The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Containing, An Account of remote Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Castles, &c. Together with a Description of Giants, Pigmies, and various other People of odd Deformities; as also their Laws, Customs, and Manners. Likewise enchanted Wildernesses, Dragons, Griffins, and many more wonderful Beasts of Prey, &c &c &c." (With 7 woodcuts.) 'Printed and Sold in Aldermay Church-Yard, London. (In Mr. Corser's sale.)]

- (32) (33) The tayl of the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband.

[Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of The Young Tamlane in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, A.D. 1802, (p. 474-480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, 1776, i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's *Museum*. (See p. below.) He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr. J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular, "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggrel verses on 'Tam o' the Linn' in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, ed. 1870, p. 33, and p. cxxvii above.]

- (34) The ryng§ of the roy Robert.

[In Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS, this poem is ascribed to Deine David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summons sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's Collection of Scottish poems, pt. 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted 'in two different publications of Mr. Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order.' *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.]

- (35) Syr egeir and syr gryme.

[Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr. David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy|| is in Bp. Percy's Folio MS, and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances* of it, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steil* to the King." See Mr. D. Laing's

* Mystory—*Hazlitt's Handbook*.

† moast—*Hazlitt*.

‡ englishe—*Hazlitt*.

§ reign.

|| However, the lines praised so strongly by Prof. Lowell in his admirable essays *My Study Windows*, p. 256-7, are not in the Percy-Folio copy. The author of the inimitable *Biglow Papers* says: "One more passage

Introduction, and Mr. Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray Steel was the knight who overcame Sir Eger, and who cut off the right little-finger of every knight he vanquishd. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.]

- (36) Beuis of southamtonn.

[See Captain Cox's IV, p. 124 above.]

- (37) The goldin targe.

[This is a poem of Dunbar's, first printed on 6 leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Works 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and "the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden targe, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love." *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 235, ed. 1861.]

- (38) The palies of honour.

[No copy of this is known so early as 1548-9, though a Scotch printer's copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary's reign: "The Palis of Honoure composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byshope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wyllyam Copland. God saue Quene Marye," 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris's edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas's original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author's dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See *Irving*, p. 269-277, for an outline of it.]

- (39) The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and sync slane be his auen doggis.

[Another tale from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155 etc.]

- (40) The tayl of Pirramus and tesbe.

[No doubt a short tale from some lost translation of Ovid *Met.* iv, 55-165). Golding's translation was not published till 1567. Mr. Halliwell prints the Pyramus story from it in his *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1841, p. 12-16. The first notice that we have of a book on this subject is in an entry in 1562-3 in the Stationer's Register A, leaf 92 (*Collier*, i. 79).

W greffethe Recevyd of Wylliam greffeth for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled Perymus }
and Thesbye } iiij^d

No copy of the book is known, nor any of the later edition by Hacket. Mr. Collier says 'The History of Pyramus and Thisbie, truly translated,' is contained in the 'Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions,' 1578; and in the 'Handfull of Pleasant Delights,' 1584, is 'a new Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbie,' subscribed J. Tomson. *Stat. Reg.* i. 80.)

- (41) The tail of the amours of leander and hero.

[The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian. *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, 1589, 4to: "The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero, written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This 'tayl' of the *Complaynt* before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, *Iler.* xviii. 19.]

occurs to me, almost incomparable in its simple straight-forward force, and choice of the right words:—

"Sir Graysteel to his death thus thraws,
He welters, and the grass updraws. . . .
A little while then lay he still,
(Friends that saw him, liked full ill,
And bled into his armour bright."

The last line, for suggestive reticence, almost deserves to be put beside the famous

"Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante"

of the great master of laconic narration [Dante]. In the same poem—*Sir Eger and Sir Grime* in the Percy Folio i. 354. The passage quoted is from Ellis—the growing love of the lady, in its maidenliness of unconscious betrayal, is touched with a delicacy and tact as surprising as they are delightful."

- (42) The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.

[More Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, bk. i.]

- (43) The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice.

[This may be 'A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason' printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, with cuts. 'The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;' but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Caxton's edition is translated from Raoul Le Fevre's French original.]

- (44) Opheus, kyng of portingal.

[This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS, printed in Mr. D. Laing's *Select Remains*, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1865. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was 'of no consequence' with the story-tellers of those days.]

- (45) The tayl of the goldin appil.

[That of Eris, inscribed 'to the fairest,' thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the original of the *Complaynt* 'tayl.'

- (46) The tail of the thre veird systirs.

['Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided.' Ovid, *Met.* xv. 781, 808 etc.]

- (47) The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus.

[Ovid, *Met.* viii.]

- (48) The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede, be cause of his aucreis.

[Another story from Ovid, book xi of the *Metamorphoses*. There is a Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Sutton, dwelling in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr. Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 18-19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.]

¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pleyсанд storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite, the foure marmadyns that sang quhen thetis vas marcit on month pillion, thai sang nocht sa sueit as did thir scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie, leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure marmadyns in melodius music, in gude accordis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion quhilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and alse the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pronuncit there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. zit nochtheles his ermoniis sang prefferit nocht the sueit sangis of thir foir-said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit sangis that i herd amang them as eftir follouis. in the fyrst,

- (49) Pastance vitht gude companye.

[English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr. Wm. Chappell, in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, from a MS. that once belonged to Henry VIII., and now belongs to a Mrs Lamb. The song was also printed by Dr. Rimbault in his *Little Book*, p. 37, and Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, from the Additional MS. 5665 in the British Museum, which was once Joseph Ritsons. It is there called "The Kyngis Balade." Here it is from Mrs. Lamb's MS., pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in *Archæologia*, vol. xli., Pl. xvi., p. 372; but in the MS. every ll has a line across its top.

The kynge. H. viij.

(1)

Pastyme *with* good *companye*
 I loue, & shall vntyll I dye:—
 gruche who lust, but none denye,
 so god be plesyd, *thus* leue wyll I
 for my pastance
 hunt, syng, & daunce,
 my hart is sett!
 all goodly sport,
 for my *comfort*,
 who shall me let?

(2)

youthe must haue *sum* daliance,
 off good or yll, *sum* pastance;
 Company me thynkes then best,
 all thoughtes & fansys to deiest;

ffor Idillnes
 is cheff mastres
 of vices all;
 then who can say
 but mirth and play
 is best of all?

(3)

Company *with* honeste
 is vertu, vices to flee;
 Company is good & ill,
 but *euery* man hath hys fre wyll;
 the best ensew,
 the worst eschew,
 my mynde shalbe;
 vertu to vse,
 vice to refuce;
 thus shall I vse me.

Bishop Latimer, says Mr. Chappell, wished to instil into Edward VI. a higher view of what "Pastyme with good Company" should be than he would get from his father's Ballad, and on that account in his Second Sermon before the young king,—preacht on Deut. xxii. 18, "And it shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God," etc.,—says

"And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forsothe syr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your selfe sir, ye mai hauke, and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

"These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyeue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntyng or such lyke pleasures. But he must vse them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye, and this is called *pastime wyth good companye*." (Ed. Arber, p. 64.)

And again, "So your grace must learne howe to do of Solomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, nowe praye. They must be yoked together, and thys is called '*pastime wyth good companye*.'" (*Ib.* p. 70.)]

(50) The breir byndis me soir.

(51) Stil vndir the leyuis grene.

[See (96). In the Maitland MS, and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of 'quite miraculous' was, though the 'sang' is a good one.

THE MURNING MAIDIN.

(1)

Still under the levis grene,
 This hinder day I went alone;
 I hard ane may fair murne and meyne;
 To the KING OF LOVE scho maid hir
 mone. 4
 Scho sychit sely soir;
 Said 'LORD, I luif thi lore.
 Mair wo dreit never woman one.
 O langsum lyfe, and thow war gone,
 Than suld I murne no moir!' 9

(2)

As rid gold-wyir schynit hir hair;
 And all in grene, the may scho glaid.
 Ane bent bow in hir hand scho bair;
 Undir hir belt war arrowis braid. 13
 I followit on that fre,
 That semelie wes to se.
 Withe still murning hir mone scho maid.
 That bird under a bank scho baid,
 And leuit to ane tre. 18

(3)

Wanweird, scho said; "Quhat have I wrocht,
 "That on me kyttht hes all this cair?
 Trew lufe, so deir I have thé bocht!—
 Certis, so sall I do na mair. 22
 Sen that I go begyld
 With ane that faythe has syld.—
 That gars me oftsyis sich full sair;
 And walk among the holis hair,
 Within the woddis wyld. 27

(4)

"This grit disese for luif I dre—
 Thair is no toung can tell the wo!—
 I lufe the luif, that lufes not me;
 I may not mend, but murning mo.
 Quhill God sum remeid, 32
 Throw destany, or deid.
 I am his freind, and he my fo.
 My sueit, alace! quhy does he so?
 I wrocht him never na feid! 36

(5)

"Withoutin feyn I was his freynd
 In word and wark. Grit God it wait!
 Quhair he was placit, thair list I leynd,
 Doand him service ayr and late. 40
 He kepand eftir syne
 Till his honour and myne.
 Bot now he gais ane uther gait,
 And hes no e to my estait;
 Quhilk dois me all this pyne. 45

(6)

"It dois me pyne that I may prufe,
 That makis me thus murning mo.
 My luif, he lufes ane uther lufe!
 Alas, sweithart! Quhy does he so?
 Quhy sould he me forsaike? 50
 Have mercie on his maik!
 Thairfoir my hart will birst in two.
 And thus, walking with da and ro.
 My leif now heir I taik." 54

(7)

Then wepit scho, lustie in weyd;
 And on her wayis san scho went.
 In hy eftir that heynd I yeyd,
 And in my armis cule hir hent, 58
 And said "Fayr lady, at this tyde,
 With leif ye man abyde,
 And tell me quho yow hidder sent,
 Or quhy ye heir your bow so bent
 To sla our deir of pryde? 63

(8)

"In waithman weid sen I yow find
 In this wod walkand your alone,
 Your mylk-qhyte handis we sall bind
 Quhill that the blude birst fra the bone. 67
 Chairgeand yow to preisoun,
 To the king's deip dungeoun.
 Thei may ken, be your fedderit flane.
 Ye have bene mony beistis bane
 Upon thir beutis broun. 72

(9)

That fre answerd with fayr afeir,
 And said, "Schir, mercie, for your mycht!
 Thus man I bow and arrowis beir,
 Becaus I am ane baneist wycht; 76
 So will I be full lang.
 For God's luif lat me gang;
 And heir to yow my treuth I plycht,
 That I sall, nowder day nor nycht,
 No wild heist wait with wrang. 81

(10)

"Thoch I walk in this forest fre,
 With bow, and eik with fedderit flane.
 It is weill mair than dayis thre,
 And meit or drink yit saw I nane.
 Thoch I had never sic neid 86
 My selfe to wyn my breid,
 Your deir may walk, schir, thair alane.
 Yet wes I nevir na beistis bane;
 I may not se thame bleid. 90

(11)

Sen that I never did yow ill,
 It wer no skill ye did me skayth.
 Your deir may walk quheirevir thai will;
 I wyn my meit with na sic waithe.
 I do bot litil wrang. 95
 Bot gif I flouris fang.
 Gif that ye trow not in my aythe,
 Tak heir my bow and arrowis baythe.
 And lat my awin selfe gang. 99

(12)

"I say your bow and arrows bricht!—
 I bid not have thame, be Sanct Bryd.
 Bot ye man rest with me all nycht,
 All nakit sleipand be my syd." 103
 "I will not do that syn!"
 "Leif yow this world to wyn!
 Ye are so haill of hew and hyd,
 Luif by me fangit in this tyd;
 I may not fra yow wyn." 108

(13) [p. 203.]

Than lukit scho to me, and leuch;
 And said "Sic luf I rid yow layne.
 Albeit ye mak it never sa teuch,
 To me your labour is in vane. 112
 Wer I out of your sycht
 The space of halfe a nycht,
 Suppois ye saw me never agane—
 Luif hes yow streinyeit with litle paine,
 Thairto my treuth I plycht." 117

(14)

I said, "My sveit, forsuythe I sall
 For ever luif yow, and no mo,
 Thoch uthers luif, and leif, with all,
 Maist certanlie I do not so. 121
 I do yow trew luif hecht,
 Be all thi bewis bricht!
 Ye ar so fair! be not my fo!
 Ye sall have syn, and ye me slo
 Thus throw ane suddan sycht." 126

(15)

"That I yow sla, that God forscheild!
 Quhat have I done, or said, yow till?
 I wes not wont wapyns to weild;
 Bot am ane woman, gif ye will, 130
 That suirle feiris yow,
 And ye not me, I trow.
 Thairfor, gude schir, tak in none ill,
 Sall never berne gar breif the bill
 At bidding me to bow. 135

(16) [p. 210.]

"Into this wode ay walk I sall,
 Ledand my lyf as woful wycht:
 Heir I forsaik bayth boure and hall,
 And all thir lygings that are brycht! 139
 My bed is maid full cauld,
 With beistis bryme and bauld.
 That gars me say, bayth day and nycht
 Alace that ever the tounge sould hecht
 That hart thocht mot to bauld!" 144

(17)

Thir words out throw my hart so went,
 That neir I wepit for hir wo;
 But thairto wald I not consent,
 And said that it sould not be so. 148
 Into my armis swythe
 Embrasit I that blythe,
 Sayand, "Sweit hart! of harmis ho!
 Found sall I never this forest fro,
 Quhill ye me cumfort kyth." 153

(18)

Than knelit I befor that deir;
 And meiklie could hir mercie craif.
 That semelie than, with sobir chier,
 Me of hir gudlines forgaif. 157
 It wes no neid I-wys,
 To bid us uther kys.
 Thair mycht no hairt mair joy resaif,
 Nor uther culd of uther haif:
 Thus brocht were we to blys. 162
 MS. in Pepysian Libr. Cambr.

(52) Cou thou me the raschis grene.

[Appendix to the Royal MSS, 58 (No. 26 in the 'Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum. 1842, p. 10). The *Fayrfax MS.* leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, vol. i. p. lxxv, with the music.

c Olle to me the Rysshys grene. Colle to me.
 Colle to me the Rysshes grene. Colle to me.

ffor my pastyme, vpon a day,
 I walkyde a-lone ryght secretly;
 in A mornyng of lusty may,
 me to Reioyce I dyd A-plye.

wher I saw one in gret dystresse
 Complynyng hym thus pytuously:
 "Alas!" he sayde, "for my mastres,
 I well perseue that I shall dye.

"wythout that thus she of hure grace,
 to pety she wyll some what reuert.
 I haue most cause to say A-las!
 ffor hyt ys she that hath my hart,

"Soo to contynew whyle my lyff endure,
 though I fore hure sholde suffre dethe;
 She hath my hart wyth owt Recure.
 And euer shall, duryng my brethe."

On the back of leaf 12 is the same burden—

“Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me.
Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me.”

set to a different tune.]

(53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene!*

(54) Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.

(55) Lady, help zour presoneir.*

(56) Kyng villzamis note.

(57) The lang nounenou [— nonny no].

(58) The cheapel valk.

(59) Faytht is there none.

(60) Skald abellis nou.

(61) The abirdenis nou.

(62) Brume brume on hil.

[*English*. See Capt. Cox, LIII, p. 192 above, and *Pop. Mus.* p. 459.]

(63) Allone i veip in grit distres.

[Godlified in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]

(64) Trollee lolee, lemmeu dou.

[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Trolly lo*, LV.]

(65) Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,
and belt the in Sanct Francis eord?

[In Constable's MS Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley:

Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
And tuich it with your pin? trow low! (Leyden, p. 279.)

(66) The frog cam to the myl dur.

[Pinkerton, in his *Select Ballads*, ii. 33, says that “The froggie came to the mill door” was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. Leyden, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is “A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse” (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 132.) Dr. Rimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr. C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book* 1826,—and mentions another old “Frogge Song” in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i. p. 14.]

(67) The sang of gilquhiskar.

(68) Rycht soirly musing in my mynde.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]

(69) God sen the due hed byddin in France,

And delaubaute hed neuyr eum hame.

[This song is not known; it must have been on ‘the Chevalier de la Beauté,’ who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland, when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V, and who was murdered in 1515.’ *Leyden*, p. 276. See in Dunbar's *Works*, ed. *Laing*, i. 251 “Ane Orisoun quhen the Governour past into France.”]

* Mr. David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. *Al. Scott's Poems*, p. x.

(70) Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone.

[A verse of this song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus:

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."

Leyden, p. 279.]

(71) Mastres fayr, ze vil forfair.

(72) O lusty maye, vitht flora quene.

[“This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes’s Aberdeen Cantus [reprinted by Ritson, *Scottish Songs*, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS.” *Leyden*, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, printed at the end of Alexander Scott’s *Poems*, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing.

(1)

“O lusty May with Flora quene,
The balmy dropis frome Phebus shene,
Preluciand bemes be-foir the day, befoir the day,
By thé Diana growis grene,
Throwch glaidnes of this lusty May.

(2)

Than Esperus, that is so bricht
Till wofull haitis, castis his lycht
With bankis that blumes (on euery bray)—bis;
And schuris ar sched furt/ of that sicht
Thru ch glaidnes of this lusty May.

(3)

Birdis on bewis of every birth,
Reiosing nottis makand thair mirth,
Rycht pleasandly vpoun the spray
With flurissingis, our feild & firth,
Thru ch ‘glaidnes of this lusty May.’

(4)

All luvaris that ar in cair,
To thair ladeis than do repair
In fresch mornyngis (befoir the day),
And ar in mirth ay mair & mair
Thru ch glaidnes of this lusty May.

Bann. MS. fol.

“The following stanza, which occurs not in the Manuscript is added from the Aberdeen Cantus.

Of everie moneth in the yeir
To mirthfull May thair is no peir,
Hir glistrine garments ar so gay,
You lovaris all mak merie cheir,
Thru ch glaidness of this lustie May.”]

(73) O myne hart, hay, this is my sang.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 121.]

(74) The battel of the hayrlau.*

[The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. “But the earliest edition [of the ballad] that can be traced was published by Ramsay: and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations . . . The poem consists of 248 lines . . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no embellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author’s historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent” stanza:

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
Nane in his days was better sene,
Quhen they war semblit, all and sum;
To praise him we sould not be dumm,
For valour, witt, and worthyness.
To end his days he ther did cum,
Quhois ransom is remeidyles.”

Irving’s Hist. of Scottish Poetry, p. 162-3.

* See the Dance Tune—*The Battel of Harloc* in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10.444, leaf 4. bk. No. 8.

A copy of this ballad dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr. Robert Mylne, the Collector. The ballad is printed in Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen* 1724, and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826, (*Hazlitt's Handbook*, p. 32, col. 2.) in "Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair," Glasgow 1748, &c. &c.

From *Motherwell's Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow 1827) p. lxii note, Mr. Murray sends me the following: "The Battle of Hairlaw.—Antiquaries have differed in opinion regarding the age of this composition; but the best informed have agreed in looking upon it as of coeval production, or nearly so, with the historical event on which it is founded; and in this opinion the present writer entirely coincides. No edition prior to Ramsay's time has been preserved, though it was printed in 1668, as we are informed by Mr. Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales*, an edition of that date having been in the curious library of old Robert Mylne. In the *Complaynt of Scotland* 1549, this ballad is mentioned. In the *Polemo Middinia* its tune is referred to

Interea ante alios dux piperlarius heros,
Præcedens magnamque gerens cum burdine pypam,
Incipit Harlai cunctis (!re-) sonare Batellum.

And in a MS. collection of tunes, written in the hand of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, which I have seen, occurs, "the battle of harlaw." From the extreme popularity of the Song, it is not to be wondered at though every early imprint of it has now disappeared. (!!!) Ramsay probably gave his copy from a stall edition of his own day, which copy has successively been edited by Mr. Sibbald, Mr. Finlay, and Mr. Laing, and has appeared in other collections. A copy apparently taken for recitation is given in "The Thistle of Scotland, Aberdeen, 1823." The editor of which among a good deal of stuff which is not very comprehensible, points out various localities and gives 3 stanzas of a burlesque song on the same subject popular in the north."]

(75) The hunttis of cheuet.

[This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chevy-Chase*. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15-18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the History of Gulielmus Neulbrigensis, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his *Reliques*, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's Ballads, vii. 29, &c., &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to the works they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, *Chevy Chase*, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 7-16. That in 'the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow, 8vo. 1747, is remarkable,' says Bp. Percy, 'for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the two nations.'

See Maidment's *Scottish Ballads*, 1868, i. 81; Dr. Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 1; Chappell's *Popular Music*, &c., &c.]

(76) Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr?

[No such place as Rumbelo or Rumbeloch is known, says Mr. Murray, though the word *rumbelow* has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. Take this, on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan:

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenyth the Kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylowe!

(77) Greuit is my sorrou.

[Godified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 132. The poem is English: the lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays.

Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85. *

(1)		(6)	
Greuous ys my sorowe		Iff ony wyght be here	
Both evyne and † moro!		That byeth love so dere:	
Vnto my selffe a-lone		come nere! lye downe by me,	
Thus do I make my mowne,	4	And weype for company!	44
That Vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me.		for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me.	
And putt me to this payne.		And putt me to this payne.	
Alas! what Remedy?		Alas! what Remedy? [leaf 86.]	
That I cannot refreyne.	8	That I cannott refrayne.	48
(2)		(7)	
Whan other men doyth sleype,		My foes whiche love me nott,	
Thene do I syght and weype;		Be-vayle my deth, I wott;	
Allē Ragius in my bed,		And he that love me beste,	
As one for paynes neyre ded,	12	hyme selfe my deth haith dreste.	52
That vnkyndnes haue kyllyd me.		What vnkyndnes shuld kyle me.	
And putt me to this payne.		If this ware nott my payne!	
Alas! what remedy?		Alas! what remedy?	
That I cannott refreyne.	16	That I cannott refreyne.	56
(3)		(8)	
My harte, ytt haue no Reste,		My last wyllē here I make,	
but styllē w th peynes oppreste;		To God my soule I be-take,	
And yett of alle my Smart,		And my wrechyd body	
Yit grevith moste my harte	20	As erth in a hole to lye;	60
That vnkyndnes shuld kyllē me,		for vnkyndnes to kyle me,	
and putt me to this payne.		And putt me to this payne.	
Alas! what Remedy? [lf. 85 bk.]		Alas! what remedy?	
That I cannott refreyne.	24	That I cannot refreyne.	64
(4)		(9)	
Wo worth ‡ trust vntrusty!		O harte, I the bequyeth	
Wo worth love vn-lovyd!		To hymē that is my deth	
Wo worth hape vn-blamyd!		Yff that no harte haith he,	
Wo worth favtt vn-namyd,	28	my harte his schalbe,	68
Thus vnkyndly to kyll me,		Thought vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,	
And putt me to this payne!		And putt me to this payne.	
Now alas! what Remedy!		Yett if my body dye, [lf. 86 bk.]	
That I cannott refrayne.	32	my hertt cannot refrayne!	72
(5)		(10)	
Alas! I lyve to longe;		Placebo, dilexi!	
my paynes be so stronge;		com, weype this obseque,	
for comforth haue I none;		My mowrnar ^{us} § dolfully,	
God wott I wold fayne be gone,	36	come weype this psalmody	76
for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,		of vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me	
And putt me to this payne.		and putt me to this payne.	
Alas! what remedy?		be-hold this wrechid body,	
That I cannott refrayne.	40	that your vnkyndnes haith slayne!	80

* Printed also by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 93; and in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, i. 70.† Every final *d* has a curl to it; and nearly every final *n* and *h* have a stroke over them.

‡ be to.

§ (mourners) MS. mowrnar^{us}.

(11)

Now I be-sych alle ye.
 namely* *that* lovers be.
 my love my deth for-gyve.
 and soffer hym to lyve 84
 Thowght vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me.
 And putt me to this payne.
 Yett haid I rether dye
 for his sake ons agayne. 88

(12)

My tombe, ytt schalbe blewe,
 In tokyne that I was trewe
 To bringe my love frome dovt; 92
 Itt shalbe writtynge abowtte.
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 and putt me to this payne.
 be-hold this wrechid body [leaf 87.]
 That y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(13)

O lady, lerne by me,
 Sley nott love wylfully,
 for fer love waxyth denty,
 100
 vnkyndnes to kyle me,
 or putt love to this payne.
 I ware the, better dye
 for loves Sake a-gayne. 104

(14)

Grevus Is my Soro,
 but deth ys my boro;
 ffor to my selfe a-lone
 Thus do I make my mone, 108
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me.
 And passyd is my payne.
 prey for this ded body
that y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne! 112

ffinis amen.

(78) Turne the, sucit ville, to me.

(79) My lufe is lyand seik;

Send hym ioy, send him ioy!

[I suppose these 2 lines belong to one song.]

(80) Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil? ioy!

[The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,

Our guidman's away to the Mers
 Wi' the mantle, jo! wi' the mantle jo!
 Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his ers,
 Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo!
Leyden, p. 279.]

(81) The Perssee & the mongumryc met.

[This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 354, and Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 19, &c.:—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
 That either of other were fain;
 They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between.†

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas:

English version.

The Percy and the Douglas mette,
 That ether of other was fayne;
 They schapped together, whyll that the swette,
 With swords of fyne collayne.

Scotch version.

When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
 I wat he was fu' fain;
 They swakked their swords, till sair they swat.
 And the blood ran down like rain.

* especially.

† In the differing and short version in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 211, and Child's *Ballads*, vii. 177-180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a penknife, the verse above runs thus

The Percy and Montgomery met,
 And weel I was they war na fain:
 They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
 And ay the blood ran down betveen. (lines 33-6.)

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 A.D., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Sir Hugh Montgomery was hys name. (l. 161-2.)

See the treatise by Mr. Robert White of Newcastle, on the Battle of Otterbourne, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857.]

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day.

[In the Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5465, leaf 108 back, is the following pretty song to which an authority in such matters has referred me as the same as 'That day, that day, that gentil day' in the *Complaynt* list; but the two are evidently different. The present song is perhaps in praise of the White Rose of Lancaster which, (for Edward IV) Adam of Cobsam praised in *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, p. iv, p. 20.

This day day dawes,
this gentill day* dawes,
this gentill day dawes,
& I must home gone.

† In a glorius garden grene,
sawe I syttyng a conly quene,
a-mong y^e flourish that fresh byn.
She gaderd a floure, and sett be-twene.
the lyly white rose me thouȝt I sawe,
& euer she sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

In that garden be flouris of hew,
the gelofir gent that she well knewe,
the floure de luce she did on rewe,
& said 'the whȝt rose is most trewe,
this garden to rule be ryȝtwis lawe.'
the lyly whyȝte rose me thought I sawe,
& euer She sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (*Ballads* vii. 34, note), and that Mr. Hales sanctions (*Percy Fol. Bal & Rom*, ii. 2) that the 'That day, that day, that gentill day' of the *Complaynt*, is a misquotation of "That day, that day, that dredfull day!" l. 99 of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the *Complaynt* has already put *The Huntis of Chevet* in its list of "sueit sangis," eight above "That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day," and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put "gentil" for "dredfull," and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty. It is true that Dauney (*Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad.

The Persee & the Mongumrye met
That day, that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the *Battle of Otterbourne* ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since 'That day' has 4 accents, as if it were a first line; though 4 accents often occur in second lines.

(83) My luf is laid upon ane knyght.

* MS. day day.

† I take the words at the foot of the page.

(84) Allace, that samyn sucit face!

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 56.]

(85) In ane myrthful morou.

(86) My hart is leiuit [= left] on the land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony vthir melodiis sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in memorie. than eftir this sucit celest armonye, tha began to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphyrdd led his vyfe be the hand, and euyrie zong scheiphird led hyr quhome he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphyrdis, and ilk ane of them hed ane syndry instrument to play to the laif. the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid playit on ane trump, the feryd on ane corne pipe, the fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playt on ane recorder,* the seuint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that playit sa sucit on his harpe quhen he kepit his scheip, nor zit appollo the god of sapiens, that kepit kyng admetus scheip, vitht his sucit menstralye, none of thir tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis befor rehersit; nor zit al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus that playit sa sucit quhe he socht his vyf in hel, his playing prefferrit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor zit the scheiphyrdd pan, that playt to the goddis on his bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid, none of the^m culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i beheld neuyr ane mair delectabil recreatione. for fyrst thai began vitht tua bekkis andvitht a kysse. euripides, inuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them kepit moir geomatrial mesure nor thir scheiphyrdis did in ther dansing. Nor ludius, that vas the fyrst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheiphirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmouding,† stendling‡ bakuart & forduart dansand base dansis,§

* See p. 78.

† gambolling.

‡ striding.

§ [Douce, B. 507. (Bodl. Libr.)]

The introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barclay. Lond. 1521, 4^o.

[leaf 16.] ¶ Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of fraunce & other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande.

FOr to daunce any bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces / that is to wite syngle / double: repyse / & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence toward the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a repyse / & a braule. And this rule ye ought alway to kepe at the beginnyng / as it is sayd. And somtyme is made .ii. syngles after the doubles / & before the repryses / & that is done whan the measures ben parfite. Also whan ony songe or daunce is wryten. R. betokeneth reuerence. By .ss. double betokeneth .ii. syngle paces / & by .d. betokeneth .i. double pace. And yf there be .ddd. ye ought to make .iii. doubles after as the daunce requyeth / for somtyme is made but .i. double / & sometime .iii. or .v. one after another / and therefore is dddd. thus wryten. And whan .3. is wryten it betokeneth repyse. & yf .333. be wryten it signyfieth .iii. repyses / & .33333. betokeneth fiue. For ye ought neuer to make .ii. nor .iiii. togyder / nor of the doubles also / for the doubles & the repyses ben euer odde in nombre. ¶ Also all bace daunces begyn by syngles or reuerence / and ende with braule. ¶ Also it behoueth

[leaf 16b.] to knowe the nombre of notes of euery bace daunce / & the paces after the measure * of the notes. Therefore ye ought to wyte that fyrst ye ought to make reuerence with the lyfte fote / & than a braule with the right fote / than two syngle paces / the fyrst with the lyfte fote and the seconde with the ryght fote in goynge forward / & ye must reyse your body.

¶ The fyrst double pace is made with the lyft fote in reysynge the body steppynge .iii. pace forward lyghtly the fyrst with the lyfte fote / the seconde with the ryght fote / & the thyrde with the lyft fote / as the fyrst.

¶ The seconde double pace begynneth with the ryght fote goynge thre paces forward as is sayd of the fyrst in reysynge the body. &c.

¶ The thyrde double pace is done as the first.

¶ It is to note that there be neuer .ii. double paces togyder / for the doubles & repyses be euer odde in nombre .i. .iii. or .v. &c.

¶ A repyse alone ought to be made with the ryght fote in drawynge the ryght fote bakwarde a lytyll to the other fote.

pauuans,* galzardis,† turdions,‡ braulis§ and branglis, buffons,|| vitht mony vthir lycht danccis, the quhilk ar ouer prolix to be rehersit. zit nochtheles i sal rehers sa mony as my ingyne can put in memorie. in the fyrst, thai dancit,

¶ The seconde re pryse ought to be made (whan ye make .iii. at ones) with the lyft fote in reysynge the body in lyke wyse.

¶ The thyrde re pryse is made in place and as the fyrst also.

¶ And merke for all that is sayd that euery of these paces occupyeth as moche tyme *the* one as the other. That is to wyte. a reuerence / one note. a double / one note. two syngles one note. a re pryse / one note. a braule / one note.

¶ And ye ought to wyte *that* in some places of fraunce they call *the* re pryses / desmarches and the braule they call / conge. in englysshe leue.

¶ This done / ye ought to put in wrytynge for a re pryse thus .3. & for thre reprises thus 333 and for the braule thus .b.

¶ Bace daunces.

¶ Filles a marier / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.	} Unparfyte.
ss. d. 333. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. d. ss. 333. b.	

¶ Le petit rouen with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. dddddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte
ss. d. ss. 333. b.	
ss. dddddd. ss. 333. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	

¶ Amours. with two measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	

¶ La gorriere thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.	} Unparfyte.
ss. d. 3. b.	
ss. ddd. 333. b.	

¶ La allemande. thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. d. ss. 3. b.	
ss. ddd. 3. b.	Unparfyte.

¶ La brette foure measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 3. b.	} Half parfyte.
ss. d. 3. b.	
ss. ddd. 3. b.	
ss. d. ss. 3. b.	

¶ La royne foure measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 3. b.	} Unparfyte.
ss. d. 3. b.	
ss. ddd. 3. b.	
ss. d. ss. 3. b.	

¶ These daunces haue I set at *the* ende of this boke to thentent that euery lerner of *the* sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprinted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde. M. CCCC. xxi. *the* xxii. day of Marche.

END.

* Puttenham speaks of 'Songs . . such as might be sung with voice . . or danced by measures, as the Italian *pavan* and *galliard* are at these daies [15] in Princes' courts, and the places of honourable or civil assembly' (*Art of Poesie*, p. 27, Haslewood's reprint). *Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Paduana*,—and not from *Pavo* a peacock.' *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772. "Morley says 'The *pavan* for grave dancing: *galliards*, which usually

(87) Al cristyn mennis dance.

(88) The northt of scotland.

(89) Huntis vp.

[This is a lively English tune well fitted for dancing, printed in Mr. Chappell's *Popular Music*, i. 60. with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* for the Society, vol i, p. . This was "in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress 'fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,' by singing 'with a crowd or a fyddyll' a political song to that tune." (*Pop. Mus.* i. 60.)

Of William Gray—"one Gray, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it [= is] vp, the hunte is up*"—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said *Ballads*. Religious parodies of *The Hunt is up* are printed in Mr. Halliwell's edition of the moral play of *Wit and Science*, from the Addit. M.S. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the *Godlie Ballades*, p. 153. ed. D. Laing, 1868: "With huntis vp, with huntis vp." Any song intended to arouse in the morning—even a love-song was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. *Chappell*.]

(90) The comout entray.

(91) Lang plat fut of gariau.

(92) Robene hude.

[Captain Cox XXII. † Does the translator of the *Roman de la Rose* refer to this dance:

But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
Thow woldest on a booke have sworne,
Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye.
That he, that whylome was so gaye,
*And of the daunce Jolly Robyn,**
Was tho become a Jacobyn.

Romaunt of the Rose († Chaucer's) l. 7455.

follow pavans, they are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing.' . . Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, 'says 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for as low and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion: and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time. In this kind is also comprehended the infinite multitude of *Ballads*, set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by cunning and witty composers, with *countr' dances* fitted unto them, . . . and which surely might and would be more freely permitted by our sages, were they used, as they ought [to be], only for health and recreation. [p. 8.] At this time Puritanism was nearly at its height." *Pop. Mus.* i. 157.

† The *Galliard* is the only one of these dances mentioned in a late English list of 'Nine sorts of common Dances always used:' Salingers round, Bobbin-jo, Gingle-de-cut, Bodkings *Galliard*, the madmans Morris, Drunken Barnaby, the Bedfull of bones, room for Cuckolds, and the Lankishire hornpipe. *The Figure of Nine. Printed for J. Deacon and C. Dennison.* † temp. Charles II. The galliard was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Folio Bal. & Rom.* ii. 579. l. 529. Cotgrave has '*Galop gaillard.* The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or, one pace and a leap;' and '*Balladinerie:* f. High, or lively dancing, as of *Galliards*, Corantoes, or Jigges.'

‡ *Tourdion* the daunce teamed a Round. *Cotgrave*.

§ Webbe mentions *brawls* as well others of the *Complaynt* dances: "neither is there anie tune or stroke which may be sung or plaide on instruments, which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to Rogero, some to Trenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pauines*, to lygges, to *Bratoles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then my selfe. 1586. W. Webbe. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, p. 61, ed. 1870.

|| *Dancer les Buffons.* To daunce a morris. *Buffon:* m. A buffoon, ieaster sycophant, merrie fool, sportfull companion; one that lues by making others merrie. *Cotgrave*.

* The French original is

Que cil qui devant soloit estre
De la dance li biaux Robins.

Cotgrave has '*Chanson de Robin*, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . .'

In 1550, Robert Crowley, in his *Voyce of the last Trumpet* (sign. B. ii.), says to 'the lewde or vnlearned priest,'

Geue ouer all thy tippillyng,
Thy tauerne gate, and table playe.
Thy cardes, thy dice, and wyne bibyng.
And learne to walke a sobre waye. . .

But if thou canste do any good,
In teachyng of an A. B. C.
A primar, or else *Robynhode*:
Let that be good pastyme for the. . .

The old puritan printer was not, then, a condemner of ballads.]

(93) Thom of lyn.

Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus:—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing *Young Thomlin*,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr. John Wallye and Mr. Toye in 1557-8. *Stationers' Register A*, leaf 22, (Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude above. p. 191.]

(94) Freris al.

(95) Ennyrnes [=Inverness, Gael. *Ionar nis*].

(96) The loch of slene [=Slyne].

(97) The gosseps dance.

(98) Leuis grene.

[see (49).]

(99) Makky.

(100) The Speyde.

(101) The flail.

(102) The lammes vynde.

(103) Soutra.

[Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. *Soutra*, separates the *South countrie* from Lothian.—J. A. H. Murray.]

(104) * * * *

(105) Schayke leg fut befor gossep.

(106) * * *

(107) Baglap and al.

(108) Ihonne ermistrangis dance.

[The earliest Ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr. Wm. Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in *Wit restored*, 1658, and in *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems*, 1682, called "A Northern Ballet," beginning:

'There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland,
Johnny Armstrong men did him call;
He had neither lands nor rents coming in,
Yet he kept eight score men in his hall.'
Popular Music, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled "Johnny Armstrong's last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, *To a pretty Northern Tune*." A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]: also in *Old Ballads*, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, iii. 101. *Pop. Mus.* ii. 776.

But the *Complaynt* dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hung* by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his *Evergreen*, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' in R. Chambers's *Scottish Ballads*, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the Ballad is Ramsay's writing, no one knows. 'Jock o' the Syde' was another Armstrong, and there's a third Johnie Armstrong in 'Dick o' the Cow': see the Ballads in *Chambers*, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers's *Scottish Songs*, ii. 528, is also an 'Armstrong's Good-night' cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their meddling fingers off their old singers' remains?

(109) The alman haye.

[The Almayne or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. "In Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, 'He taught them rounds and winding heys to tread.' (In the marging he explains 'rounds and winding-heys' to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, 'the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.' This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Dargason*, where many stand in one long line, the direction is 'the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaine' of a quadrille." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 629.]

(110) The bace of voragon.

(111) Dangeir.

(112) The beye.

(113) The dede dance.

[Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or 'The Doleful Dance and Song of Death,' of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 85. The tune is also called 'The Shaking of the Sheet,' and 'is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune.' In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets*, *The Vicar of St. Fools*, and *the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. 'There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins, in his *History of Music* (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo. c.lit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from *The Dancing Master* of 1650-51, to the *Vocal Enchantress* of 1783.' *Pop. Mus.* i. 84.]

(114) The dance of kylrynne.

(115) The vod and the val.

(116) Schaik a trot.

Than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu vp there bagpipis. than the bel veddir for blythtnes bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis

* See, in Lyndesay's *Satyre* (ed. E. E. T. Soc.) p. 454, l. 2092-4.

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—
Quhilk hangit *Johne the Armistrang*—
Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

Mr. Murray says that 'Jonne the' is an error for 'Johnye.'

raschit there heydis to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis follout on the fellis, baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis,* and dailis,† gylmyrs‡ and dilmondis,§ and mony herucist hog.|| than i departit fra that companye.

The list of Songs in the *Complaynt* is so much longer than that in *Lancham's Letter* that some readers might suspect that Scotland was far richer in ballads and songs* in the 17th century, than England; but a perusal of Mr. Wm. Chappell's *Popular Music* will soon cure them of this opinion. Pre-Reformation Scotland was, no doubt, as prolific of songs and ballads—relatively to its population—as England. Andrew Boorde says that the Scotchmen (of about 1540 A.D.) “be hardy men and stronge men, & good musycyons; in these .iiii. qualytès they be moost lyke, aboue all other nacions, to an English man.” The ballads of one country were sung in the other: at least 7 of the Scotch list are English ballads: two of Captain Cox's are possibly Scotch, or at least Northern. Compare, too, in the extract that Dauneys gives, in his *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, from the accounts of the Lords High Treasurers,

1489, Jul. 10. Item. to Inglis pyparis that cum to the castel yet, and playit to the king, viij. li.† viij s.

1491, Aug. 21. Item to .iiij. Inglis pyparis, viij. unicorns, vij. li. .iiij. s.

1503, Aug. 13. Item to viij Inglis menstrales, be the kingis command, xl. french crownis, xxviiij. l. Item, to the trumpetis of England, xxviiij. l.

Item, to the Erle of Oxfordis tua menstrales, xxviiij. l.

1504. Item, to tua Inglise wemen that sang in the Kingis pailzecone, xxiiij. s.

But after the Reformation, the ballad-life was crusht out of Scotland, though it flourisht in England. Knox's followers discouraged ballads and music by every means in their power, and procured the passing of a series of Acts, punishing the singers of ballads. Here are a few samples, sent me by Mr. Wm. Chappell, from Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*:

In 1574. “Pipers, fiddlers, & minstrels are unceremoniously classed together as vagabonds, & threatened with severe penalties, should they venture into the city” [of Glasgow] “in contravention of the act.”—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, V. 1, p. 92.

An. 1574. “At this date he” [the Regent Morton] “induced the Privy Council to issue an edict that ‘nane tak upon hand to emprent or sell whatsoever book, ballet, or other werk,’ without its being examined and licensed, under pain of *death, & confiscation of goods.*”—(*Ditto* p. 94.)

12 Aug. 1579. “Twa poets of Edinburgh, remarking some of his [the Earl of Morton's] sinister dealing, did publish the same to the people, by a famous libel written against him; & Morton, hearing of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirling, where they were convict for slandering ane of the

* Ewes, the lambs of which have died soon after being produced.

† Ewes which miss conceiving and are fattened for eating.

‡ Ewes two years old or ‘gimmers.’

§ Wethers more than twelve months old.

|| *Hog*, a young sheep before it has lost its first fleece, termed *harvest-hog* from being smeared at the end of harvest, when it ceases to be called a lamb. *Leyden*.

* All ballads are songs, because they are meant to be sung; but all songs are not ballads, because songs proper are not verse narratives meant for the common people, and meant for recitation as much as music, as ballads are, but lyrical expressions of feeling, meant only to be sung. A *balade* was originally a poem of three stanzas, all having the same burden, followed by an Envoy.

† A Scotch pound was a crown of 5s.

king's councillors, & were there baith hangit. The names of the men were William Turnbull, school-master in Edinburgh, and William Scot, notar. They were baith weel belovit of the common people for their common offices."—(*Quoted in ditto*, p. 125.)

"At the fall of Morton, less than two years after, when he was taken prisoner and conducted to Edinburgh Castle, as he passed the Butter Tron, a woman whose husband had been put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled *Daff, and dow nothing* [as much as to say, '*Sport, and be at your ease*,'] sitting down on her bare knees, poured out many imprecations upon him." (*Ditto*, same page.)

[*Still* 1579.] "The estates passed an act against 'strang and idle beggars,' and 'sic as make themselves fules, and are bards,' . . . 'minstrels, sangsters, and tale tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs,' and vagabond *scholars of the universities* of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen." "Two poets hanged in August, and an act of Parliment against bards and minstrels in October; truly, it seems to have been sore times for the tuneful tribe."—(*Ditto*, p. 131.)

THE BALLAD OF "BALOW."

While on the subject of English and Scotch Ballads, I take the opportunity of printing the only two known hitherto-unprinted copies of *Balow*, which Mr. David Laing has been kind enough to send me from Pinkerton's 4to. MS.* that now belongs to him. One of these copies, '*Palmer's Balow*,' is a version of the genuine old *Balow*; the other, '*The Balow Allane*,' is a poorer and later affair. See Evans's Old Ballads, 1810, 'the New Balow.'

The cause of my asking Mr. David Laing for these copies, was this. In the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, iii. 516-523, we printed for the first time the only three MS. copies of the genuine *Balow* that had ever been in type in an uncooked state.† In the Introduction to the ballad, p. 518-19, Mr. Wm. Chappell stated that *Balow* was a 16th century ballad, not a 17th; that it was English, not Scotch; and that Watson in Part III. of his *Comic and Serious Scot Poems*, Edinburgh, 1713, was the first to claim for Lady Anne Bothwell 'the particular honour of having been the wench of' his version of 'The new Balow; or, a Wenches Lamentation for the loss of her Swētheart: he having left her a babe to play with, being the fruits of her folly.' Mr. Chappell further showed on the evidence of one of two stanzas added in Watson's Scotch version, and not in any English copy, that it was ridiculous to suppose that this Scotch addition, or the poem in which it was found, referred to Lady Anne Bothwell or any lady of rank. "In the second [stanza] we find the inducement supposed to have been offered by Lady Anne's lover:

I was too credulous at the first
To grant thee that a maiden durst,
And in thy bravery thou didst vaunt
That I no maintenance should want [!]"

Out of Watson's own mouth then, *his* attribution of the Ballad, at any rate, to Lady Anne Bothwell, was shown to be absurd. But this pricking of the Bothwell bubble by Mr. Chappell raised the bile of either Messrs. Ogle of Glasgow, or some shopman of theirs whom they employed to write notes to their new reprint of Watson's *Collection* in 1858; and in a very impertinent tone the said shopman attacked Mr. Chappell and his argument. The man seems to have felt acutely that Scotland's honour had been

* This is the MS. of which Ritson says in his *Scottish Song*, vol. i. p. cix, note (108). "The editor of *Select Scottish ballads* pretends, that in a quarto manuscript in his possession, 'containing a collection of poems, by different hands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the middle of the last [17th] century, when it was apparently written, there are two *balowes*, as they are there stiled, the first, 'The balow, *Allan*, the second, *Palmer's balow*.'"

† Of the Percy Folio copy, I hold the 5th and 6th stanzas to be clearly later insertions.

wounded by a little truth; yet he knew so little of his subject as to suppose Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, printed in 1811, of equal date and authority with the originals in the Roxburghe Collection. It is needless to say that he does not move an inch Mr. Chappell's strong point, that the tune of *Balow*,—which implies the words—is in two 16th century English music-books, and that both tune and words are in two other English music-books of 1649 and 1658, while the words are in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. of, say, 1645-50. Against this, the only early Scotch evidence is the appearance of the ballad in Pinkerton's 4to MS. belonging to Mr. David Laing, which he considers, as Pinkerton did, to be of about 1650; and the only late Scotch evidence is the report that Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Walter Scott's contemporary) said he had heard that the Ballad applied to Lady Anne Bothwell. If we grant the *a priori* probability that a woman's lament over her seduction and desertion would belong to Scotland, the MS. evidence is yet clearly in favour of the ballad being English, as its language is. But annexed ballads, like annexed territories, and stolen waters, are sweet: and doubtless Scotch balladists will not be ready to give up *Balow*. The most profitable question hereafter will be, who shall gain the best title to it by admiring it most, for 'singularly beautiful,' 'most touching,' it is.

PALMER'S BALOW.

[*Pinkerton MS.* 4to p. 48. *On the margin Pinkerton writes "Lady Bothwell's Lament. Ball. 2. 194."*]

Balow my Babe, ly still and sleepe!
It greves me sore to see thó weepe!
If thow wert quyet, I wold be glade;
Thy murneinge makes thy Mother sade!
Balow, my boy, thy Mother's ioy:
Thy father bred me great annoy!
Balow!

*And thow, my darleinge, sleep awhyle.
And when thow waikest, sueetlie smyle!
O doe not smyle as thy Father did
To counsge† maides: nay God forbid!
But yet I feare that thow wilt leare‡
Thy father's face and hart to§ beare:
Balow!

||When he begane to court my loue.
And with his sugared wordes to move.
His fained tongue and flattering cheare
That tyme to me did not apeire:
But now I see that crewell he
Caires nather for my babe nor me.
Balow!

Fairweell, fairweell, the falsest youthe
That ever kist a womans mouthe!
Let never maiden efter me
Commit hir to thy curtasie!
For crevell* thow, if once she bowe.
Wilt hir abuse; thow caires not how.
Balow!

* This stanza is like the third of the Addit. MS. 10, 337.

† cozen.

‡ better readings than the *heare* and *still* of the Addit. MS. 10, 337.

§ This is the 2nd stanza of the Addit. MS. copy.

|| *for* crewell, cruel.

* Marginal note by Pinkerton: "Wanting in Dr. Percy's Collection."—D.L. It's in both Gamble's copy and the Addit. MS. 10,337. *Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 516-17.

THE CASTLE OF KENILWORTH.

I cannot chuse, but ever will
 Be loueinge to thy father still;
 Thruugh cuninge he procur'd my hart,
 That can in no wayes from him pairt.
 In weell or woe, whare ere he goe.
 My hart sall never pairt him fro!
 Balow!

*Heir, by my greiff, I wowe and sueare,
 Thé, and all vthers, to forbear.
 I'le never kise, nor cull, nor clape,
 But lull my younglinge in my lape.
 Hart, doe not greeve! leave off to murne!
 And sleepe securelie, hart, allone!
 [Balow.]

[*Pinkerton 4to MS. p. 46.*]

THE BALOW. ALLANE.

Balow my babe, frowne not on me,
 Who still will weepe for wronginge thé,
 Till from myne eyes a sea sall flow,
 To saile my soul from mortall woe
 To that immortall mirtill shore,
 Where greeff slane ghosts can greeve no more.
 Balow, Balow, Balow, Balow!

Be still my sad-one! spare those teares
 To weepe when thow hast witt and yeares!
 Thy greeffs are gatheringe to a sum,
 God send thé patience when they cum!
 Borne to bewaile a father's shame,
 A mother's fall, a bastard's name!
 Balow, &c.

Balow, my deare! thy faithles dade,
 When he thé prodigall had mead,
 Of gudes and oathes regairdles, he
 Preferr'd the warrs to thé and me;
 Whare now, perhaps, thy curse and myne
 Makes him eate accornes with the swyne.
 Balow!

Yet peace, my comfort! curse not him,
 Who now in sea of greeff doth sweim,
 Perhaps of death, for who can tell,
 Wither the Iudge of heavin and hell
 By some predestined deadlie lead,
 Revengeinge me, hath struke him dead!
 Balow!

And were I neir the fattall boundes
 Where he lyes gaspinge in his woundes:
 Repeatinge, as he pantes for breath,
 Hir name, that woundes more deep then death,
 And therwith dies: what hart so stronge
 But wold forgiue the greatest wronge?
 Balow!

* Refers to the last note on page 223.

If lining* lack, for that loues sake
 Which once I bore him I wold make
 My smoake vnto his body meit,
 A[nd] wrap him in that winding sheit!
 Ay me! how happy had I bein
 If he had nêir bein wrap't therin!
 Balow!

Balow, my babe! when thou hast yeares,
 Forget thy Mother. scorne hir teares,
 Thy birth denay, thy freindes deride.--
 It's but a courtlie trick of pryde,—
 Then mayest thou ryse, my Sone, to be
 A courtier, by disclameinge me.
 Balow!

The copy of *Barlow* in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, i. 158, ed. 1794, like that in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 65. ed. 1869, is in 13 stanzas, 9 of which are spurious; that in Pinkerton's *Select Scottish Ballads*, i. 59, has only 4 verses, the last being spurious, and all scotified.

I have now ended the list of work I set myself: to sketch hastily the stories of the books and ballads on which an Englishman of Shakespeare's class and time tells us he was trained, and contrast them with those of a more educated Scotchman of a generation earlier. Of the Ballads of England the history has been written by Mr. Wm. Chappell. The Ballads of Scotland have, unluckily, not yet found their Chappell, so far as I know,† the man who will honestly give us chapter and verse for every assertion, will go no further than his authorities warrant, and will expose the falsifications and forgeries of the men who have tampered with and invented many of their old ballads, real and unreal. Honest prints of all their old musical and ballad MSS.—however few—are much wanted, as these are evidence. We've had enough of Allan Ramsay, Watson, Buchan, and Co.

To trace the history of Kenilworth is no part of my task—for that I refer to Dugdale, and the many copiers of him; as for its present state, I refer to Mr. Knowles's excellent photographs in his new edition of *Lancham*; to discuss the character of Leicester or his great Queen Elizabeth—great in spite of all her littlenesses—I do not purpose, much as I like to fancy our aftercomers setting Victorian England by the side of Elizabethan, and judging it worthy to be there. But, having spent this spring and summer in the sunshine and the glad light green of our fair native land, I cannot but dwell a while, in thought at least, on the bright days of our author during his happy stay in Warwickshire, a county lit for us all by a light of glory kindled in his time and that will never die so long as our race lasts. Truly one understands the German soldier's quiet words to his comrade lately on the Rhine: "We are not worthy to be a nation, if we let the French take this from us." So felt the Elizabethians when the Armada was near; so the Georgians when the first Napoleon threatened; so the Victorian Volunteers when the Colonels of the third Napoleon planned to plunder London. But what are our 170,000 to

* *for* linnen

F F

† Of course I trust Mr. David Laing and Mr. Maidment.

the two millions wanted? Where is our statesman to make us an armed nation? Where is our Moltke to organize our defence? May the splendid example that Prussian patriotism has set us, teach us to make sure, that a like fate to that which awaits Louis Napoleon's soldiers shall meet the foe that sets 'one foot'* on our soil!

EGHAM,
August 21, 1870.

P.S.—The proof of the forgotten lines above comes on March 31, 1871, and make me glad that I did not doubt Germany's triumph, much as I grieve over the present state of Paris. But, to return to Laneham:—

* The French boast after Saarbruck.



NOTES TO FOREWORDS.

Page 69.—The first modern edition of Lancham's *Letter* was printed at Warwick in 1784.

2. In Nichol's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* vol. i., 1788.

3. Printed for G. H. Burn in 1821.

4. In *Kenilworth Illustrated*, 1821.

5. Again in 2nd edit. vol. i. of Nichol's *Prog. of Q. E.* (1823).

6. A reprint of Burn's edit. in *Kenilworth Festivities* in 1825.

7. Hotten's modernised reprint.

8. Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester; a Critical Inquiry into the Authenticity of the various Statements in relation to the Death of Amye Robsart, and of the Libels on the Earl of Leicester, with a vindication of the Earl by his nephew Sir Phillip Sydney, with a History of Kenilworth Castle, including an account of the Splendid Entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester, in 1575, from the Works of Robert Lancham and George Gascoigne; together with Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester. By GEORGE ADLARD, author of "The Sutton-Dudleys of England," &c. 8vo, pp. 368, *with plates, cloth.* 12s.

Nichols, in the 2nd ed. of *Q. E. Prog.*, extracts nearly the whole of Burn's Preface and most of Burn's notes, with an acknowledgement.

Page 71. Progresses.—Here is Hall's account of Henry VIII's first, in 1510:—

"From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progreese, exercisynge hym self daily in shoting, singing, dauzsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makynge of balettes, & did set .ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were sange oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwarde in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng [?Woking] there were kept both Iustes and Turneys: the rest of thys progreese was spent in huntynge, hawkyng, and shotyng."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 515, ed. 1809.

Page 133. Olyuer of the Castl.—Mr. F. W. Cosens says: In the Spanish translation of Ticknor by Gayangos and Védia, vol. i, p. 523, is the following note: Of *El Rey Artus*, or more correctly, "La historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarve," we have before us a copy printed at Burgos in 1499, an edition unknown to Mendez. It is in folio, with wood engravings. On the last leaf is printed, 'to the praise and glory of our redeemer Jesus Christ and of the blessed virgin Holy Mary. The present work was finished in the very noble and loyal city of Burgos the twenty-fifth day of May, year of our redemption 1499.' (In gothic letter, double columns.)

"Besides the editions cited by Brunet, 1501 and 1604, there is one by Cromberger, Seville 20 November, 1510, folio in double columns, without pagination, 34 leaves, Gothic letter (*letra de tórtis*), but of a different shape to that of the 1499 edition. In the earlier editions it is stated that the work was translated out of the Latin into the French tongue by "Felipe Comus," licenciado '*in utroque*,' but in the later editions it is attributed to a certain Pedro de la Floresta."

Page 173. The boke of nurture.—Jackson's edition of Hewe Rodes in 1577 was probably the sixth: "The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners for men Scrnants and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, &c." In my reprint I gave some collations of the second known edition, by Petyt,—from the imperfect copy in the Bodleian,—and of the 3rd known edition by Thomas Colwell, and the 4th by Abraham Veale, from Mr. Corser's unique copies, which he kindly lent me. Of the 5th edition by Thomas East in 1568, Lord Ashburnham has a copy, and I need not say that I have not seen it: he buys his books "for his own gratification, not for other people to look at." Of the first edition, about 1530, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reports a copy to be in the possession of a Cornish gentleman, Mr. Robartes, "Imprynted at London in Southwarke by me Johan Redman," The 8th edition was perhaps 'The booke of Nurture' licensed to Thomas Easte on the 12th March, 1581-2.—Collier's *Extracts*, ii. 160.

Page 192.—Here follows the moralized "Com ouer the Boorne, Besse," from Ritson's MS., which he gave to the British Museum.

[Addit. MS. 5665, leaf 143 back.]

Come ouer the burne, besse,
 thou lytyll praty besse!
 com ouer the burne, besse, to me!
 The burne is this world~~e~~ blynde
 & besse is mankynde;
 so propyr I can none fynde as she.
 she dauncys & lepys,
 & crist stondys & clepys:
 cum ouer the burne, besse, to me!
 Cum ouer the burne, besse,
 thou lytyll praty besse,
 cum ouer the burne, besse to me!

The original (says Mr. Chappell) is "A Songe betwene the Quenes Majestie and England," a duet between England and Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Bessy. Each stanza consists of four lines, and they are marked alternately E. and B. The first verse is:

"E. Come over the born, Bessy, come over the born, Bessy,
 Swete Bessy come over to me,
 And I shal the take, and my dere Lady make,
 Before all other that ever I sec."

23 verses. "Finis. q. Wylliam Birche." "Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe, dwellyng under Saint Magnus Church." A copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Catalogue of Broad-sides, p. 17.

Page 198. Bagford and the Caxton Prognostication.—"Bagford's collection of printed Titles, etc. (although mostly stolen from the Univ. Lib. Camb. and elsewhere) is certainly of value. His MS. Titles, and his remarks about Caxton and other printers, serve, as Dibdin truly said, only to mislead. His "prodnostication," printed by Caxton, 1493, is all fudge, like many other works he attributed to the same printer."—William Blades.

MEMOIR OF
GEORGE GASCOIGNE,

FROM 'KENILWORTH ILLUSTRATED.'

GEORGE GASCOIGNE, the subject of the following Memoir,* was of an ancient and honourable family in Essex, being the son and heir of Sir John Gascoigne, of that county; but for some cause, not mentioned in the rare poetical tract by Whetstone, his father disinherited him. He was first privately educated by a clergyman of the name of Nevinson, and afterwards removed to Cambridge, (though Wood says he "had his education in *both* the universities,") of which university he was a member, and removed from thence to Gray's Inn for the purpose of studying the law. In both these places he probably wrote a considerable number of his poems, particularly the amatory ones, which he reckons among his youthful follies.

Having, according to Wood, "a rambling and unfixed head," he left Gray's Inn, and went to Holland, becoming a soldier of note, and followed that profession so far as to take for his motto, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*. The fact seems to be, that, disinherited by his father, and disappointed in his expectations from his courtly friends, Gascoigne thought an honourable resource presented itself in joining the Prince of Orange, who was at that time endeavouring to emancipate the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. He accordingly embarked, in 1572, for Holland; but, owing to the misconduct of the Dutch pilot, the vessel was run aground, and some of the crew were lost. Gascoigne, however, landed in safety, obtained a captain's commission under the Prince of Orange, and acquired considerable military reputation, though an unfortunate quarrel with his colonel retarded his advancement. At the siege of Middleburg he had an opportunity of displaying his zeal and courage under the personal observation of the Prince, who rewarded him with a present of three hundred guilders, and promised future promotion. Shortly afterwards he was however, with five hundred more Englishmen, lately landed, surprised and made a prisoner; but at the expiration of four months, himself and his brother officers were sent back to England: and thus terminated his military career.

* Principally derived from Chalmers's Life of Gascoigne in the "Works of the English Poets." 1810.

On his return to his native country, he resided partly in Gray's Inn, and partly at Walthamstow, designing now to "trust to his wit," and "ope the windows of his Muse,"* and to publish his early poems, with such other works, written in his more serious moments, as were intended to counteract the licentious tendency of his amatory verses.

In the summer of 1575 we find him at Kenilworth Castle, where the munificent Earl of Leicester, in his ample preparations for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, had doubtless invited him (with other literary and ingenious men) to contribute by his talents to the splendid series of shews and devices intended for her amusement.

Of these "Princelie Pleasures" our author has given a very particular account in the rare work so entitled; from which it appears that the address of the *Savage Man* to Jupiter, his conversation with Echo, and subsequent speech to the Queen, were composed by him "*upon a very great sudden*." A more elaborate piece, also *devised and penned* by him, and all the actors kept in readiness for two or three days, was not performed owing to want of opportunity and unfavourable weather: but as the Queen's departure approached "the Earle commanded master Gascoigne to devise some farewell;" and accordingly, in the character of *Sylvanus*, he met the Queen coming from hunting, and addressed her in a long extempore speech, running by her horses' side until they came to an arbour, wherein was a person concealed, who, in the character of *Deep desire*, recited some verses composed by Gascoigne, which seem to have terminated the entertainments of this nature presented to her Majesty.

On his return from Kenilworth he resided chiefly at Walthamstow, occupied in writing and preparing his works for publication. Here, it appears by Whetstone's account, he wrote the "Steele Glasse," the "Glass of Government," the "Delicate Diet," a book of hunting, and the "Dooms-Day Drum," which last, however, was not published until after his death. Other pieces remained unpublished; some of which were afterwards printed in various collections, but without his name.

He was patronized by Lord Grey de Wilton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other distinguished persons, and enjoyed the esteem of many of his poetical contemporaries; yet he complains† bitterly of the envy of rivals and the malevolence of critics; seeming to intimate that, although he bore this treatment with apparent patience, yet it insensibly wore him out and brought on a bodily distemper which his physicians could not cure. He lived not more than five years after his return from Holland; and although his age is not mentioned by any of his biographers, there is good reason to conjecture it did not at the utmost exceed forty years. His demise, which hitherto has been placed at Walthamstow, and, in 1578, is, by the recent discovery of Whetstone's rare pamphlet, found to have taken place at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, Oct. 7, 1577, in the presence of his friend Whetstone, who relates, that he died so calmly, the moment of his departure was not perceived. He left a wife and son, whom he recommended to the liberality of the Queen, whether successfully, or what became of them, is not known.

His early poems (in which, however, the proportion of indelicate thoughts is certainly not very great), were a source of regret to him; and, in his subsequent publications, he takes every fitting opportunity to introduce and bewail the errors of his youth, and to atone for any injury that might have arisen from the perusal of these juvenile productions.

* Vide Whetstone's Life of Gascoigne.

† The testimonies to Gascoigne's merit by his contemporaries are so very numerous, that we are at a loss to know who those enemies were who could give that uneasiness of which he complains with so much sensibility.

The editions of Gascoigne's works are all very scarce, and frequently imperfect; and to this great rarity may be chiefly attributed the neglect of his works by modern readers. "In smoothness and harmony of version, he yields to no poet of his own time, when these qualities were very common; but but his higher merit is, that in every thing he discovers the powers and invention of a poet, a warmth of sentiment tender and natural, and a fertility of fancy, although this be not always free from the conceits of the Italian school. As a satirist, if nothing remained but his 'Steele Glasse,' he may be reckoned one of the first. There is a vein of sly sarcasm in this piece, which appears to be original: and his intimate knowledge of mankind, acquired indeed at the expense probably of health, and certainly of comfort and independence, enabled him to give a more curious picture of the dress, manners, amusements, and follies of the times, than we meet with in almost any other author."

The *Princely Pleasures* was first printed in 8vo. by Rychard Ihones in 1576; but so little is this edition known, that Mr. Chalmers, in his life of Gascoigne, says, "this piece was first printed in the posthumous edition of his works." Dr. Farmer, at the sale of Dr. Wright's books, purchased the unique copy of this rare edition. At the sale of Dr. Farmer's Collection it was bought by Mr. Jefferys, and subsequently passed through the hands of Mr. Park to Longman and Co., from whom the present proprietor, William Staunton, Esq. of Longbridge, purchased it, and by whose kindness the Editor of the present reprint of the *Princely Pleasures* is enabled to give the address to the reader, and notice the various readings and other additions which are peculiar to this edition.

The portrait prefixed in 'Kenilworth Illustrated' to this Memoir is a fac-simile copy of an engraving on wood, worked off on the back of the title to his *Steele Glas*, printed in 1576, 4to. It represents him in armour, with ruff and large beard, on his right hand a musket and bandileers; on his left, books, &c.; and underneath, his motto, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*.

He thus draws his own picture, as presenting the Hermit's tale to Elizabeth:—

"Beholde, good queene, a poett with a speare,
 "(Straunge sightes well mark'd are understode the better)
 "A soldier armde with pensyle in his eare,
 "With pen to fighte, and sworde to write a letter."

I subjoin a pretty stanza, to shew that Gascoigne could at times write well.

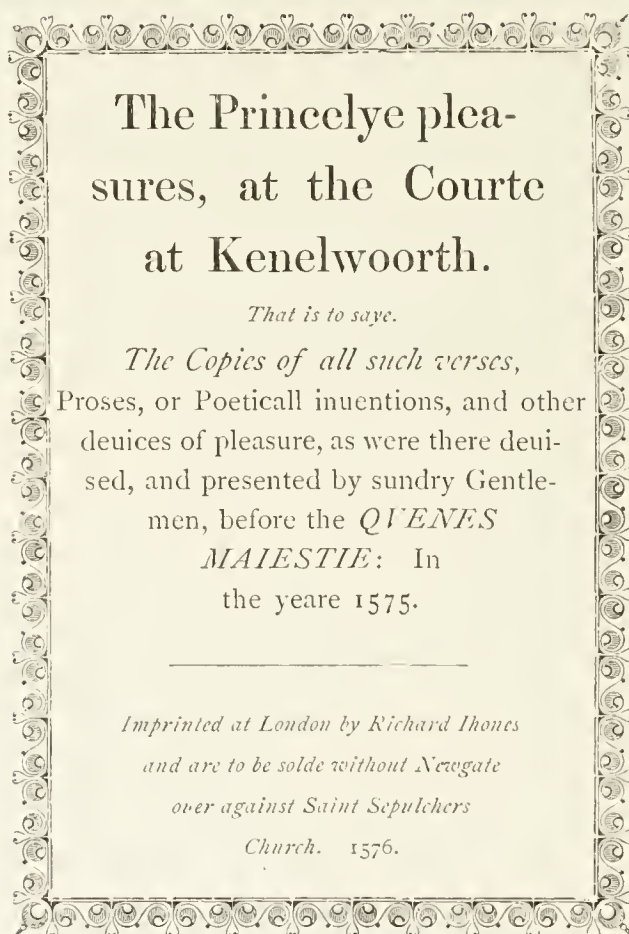
I must alledge, and thou canst tell
 How faithfully I vowed to serve:
 And how thou seem'dst to like me well;
 And how thou saidst I did deserve
 To be thy Lord, thy Knight, thy King,
 And how much more I list not sing.
 E. H. K.



THE
PRINCELYE PLEASURES
AT
KENELWORTH CASTLE.

A briefe rehearsall, or rather a
true Copie of as much as was presented
before her maiestie at Kenelworth, during
her last abode there, As
followeth.

The title to the octavo edition is given below, together with the printer's address.



THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

BEING aduertised (gentle Reader) that in this last progresse, hir Maiestie was (by the Ryght Noble Earle of Leycester) honorably and triumphantly receyued and entertained, at his Castle of Kenelwoorth: and that sundry pleasaunt and Poeticall inuentions were there expressed, aswell in verse as in prose. All which haue been sundrie tymes demaunded for, aswell at my handes, as also of other Printers, for that indeede, all studious and well disposed yong Gentlemen and others, were desyrous to be partakers of those pleasures by a profitable publication: I thought meete to trye by all meanes possible if I might recour the true Copies of the same, to gratifye all suche as had requyred them at my handes, or might hereafter be styrred with the lyke desire. And in fine I haue with much trauayle and paine obtained the very true and perfect Copies, of all that were there presented and executed: Ouer and besides, one Moral and gallant Deuyce, which never came to execution, although it were oftē in a readinesse. And these (being thus collected,) I haue (for thy cōmoditie gentle Reader) now published: the rather because of a Report thereof lately imprinted by the name of the Pastime of the Progresse; which (in deede) doth nothing touche the particularitie of euerye commendable action, but generally reherseth hir Maisties cheerful entertainment in all places where shee passed: together with the exceeding ioye that her subiects had to see hir: which Report made verye many the more desirous to haue this perfect Copy: for that it plainlye doth set downe euery thing as it was in deede presented at large: And further doth declare, who was Authour and deuiser of every Poeme & inuencion. So that I doubt not but it shall please & satisfye thee both with reason & contentacion: In full hope wherof, I leaue thee to the reading of the same, & promise to be styl occupied in publishing such workes as may be both for thy pleasure and commoditie.

This 26. of March. 1576.

HER Maiesty came thether (as I remember) on saterday being the nienth of Iuly last past. On which day there met her on the way, somewhat neere the Castle *Sybilla*, who prophecied vnto her Highnes the prosperous raigne that she should continue, according to the happy beginning of the same. The order thereof was this: *Sibilla* being placed in an arbor in the parke neere the highway, where the *Queenes maiestie* came, did step out and pronounced as foloweth:

ALL hayle, all hayle, thrise happy prince,
Of future chaunce, and after happ,*
As now the dewe of heauenly gifts,
Euen so shall vertue more and more,
The rage of warre bound fast in chaines,
But peace shall gouerne all your daies,
You shalbe called the Prince of peace,
So that your eyes shall neuer see
If perfect peace then glad your minde,
Which doth receiue into his house,
And one thing more I shall foretell,
Your comming is reioyced at,
And whiles your highnes here abides,
That may bring pleasure to your mind,
And so passe foorth in peace (O Prince)
The God that gouernes all in all,

I am *Sibilla* she
foreshewing what shalbe.
full thicke on you doeth fall,
augment your yeares withal.
shal neuer stirre ne moue:
encreasing Subiects loue.
and peace shalbe your shield,
the broyles of bloody field.
he ioyes about the rest:
so good and sweete a guest.
as by my skil I know:
tenne thousand times and mo.
nothing shall rest vnsought,
or quyet to your thought.
of high and worthy praise:
encrease your happy dayes.

This deuise was inuented, and the verses also written, by M. Hunneys, master of her Maiesties Chappell †

HER Maiestie passing on to the first gate, there stode in the Leades and Battlementes therof, sixe Trumpetters hugelie aduanced, much exceeding the common stature of men in this age, who had likewise huge and monstrous Trumpettes counterfitted, wherein they seemed ‡ to sound: and

* *Happes*.—1st edition.

† *The children in hir Maisties Chappell*—first edition. Queen Elizabeth, it is believed, never attended a public theatre; but she had four companies of children who frequently performed for her amusement, denominated the "Children of St. Paul's, the Children of Westminster, the Children of the Chapel, and the Children of Windsor."

Sometimes public actors were in imitation of these establishments called the "*Children of the Revels*," and often acted at the Royal Theatre, Whitehall, before Elizabeth, particularly towards the close of her reign.

‡ Master Laneham was taken in.

behind them were placed certaine Trumpetters, who sounded in deede at her maiesties entrie. And by this dum shew it was ment, that in the daies and Reigne of K. *Arthure*, mē were of that stature. So that y^e Castle of *Kenelworth* should seem stil to be kept by *Arthurs* heires and their seruants. And when her maiestie entred the gate, there stooode *Hercules* for Porter, who seemed† to be amazed at such a presence, vpon such a sodain, proffered to stay them. And yet at last being ouercome by viewe of the rare beutie and princelie countenance of her Maiestie, yeelded himselfe and his charge, presenting the keyes vnto her highnesse, with these words.

WHAT stirre, what coyle is here?	come back, holde, whether now?
Not one so stout to stirre,	what harrying haue we here?
My frends, a Porter I,	no Poper here am plast:
By leaue perhaps, els not	while club and limmes doe last.
A garboyle‡ this indeede,	what, yea, faire Dames? what yea,
What daintie darling's here?	oh God, a peereles Pearle,
No worldly wight no doubt,	some soueraigne Goddes sure,
Euen face, euen hand, euen eye,	euen other features all,
Yea beutie, grace, and cheare,	yea port and maiestie,
Shewe all some heauenly Peere,	with vertues all beset.
Come, come, most perfect Paragon,	passe on with ioy and blisse,
Most worthy welcome Goddes guest,	whose presence gladdeth all.
Haue here, haue here, both club and keyes,	my selfe, my warde I yeelde,
Euen gates and all, yea Lord him selfe,	submitte and seeke your sheelde.

These verses were deuised and pronounced by Master Badger of Oxenforde, Maister of Arte, and Bedle in the same Uniuersitie.

When her Maiestie was entred the gate, and come into the base Court, there came vnto her a Ladie attended with two Nimphes, who came all ouer the Poole, being so conueyed, that it seemed shee had gone vpon the water. This Ladie named her selfe the Ladie of the Lake, who spake to her Highnesse as followeth,

THOUGH haste say on, let sute obtain some stay,
 (most peereles Prince, the honor of your kinde)
 While that in short my state I doe display,
 and yeelde you thanks for that which now I finde,
 Who carst haue wisht that death me hence had fet,
 if Gods not borne to die, had ought death any det.

I am the Lady of this pleasant Lake,
 who since the time of great king *Arthurs* reigne
 That here with royal Court aboade did make,
 haue led a lowring life in restles paine.
 Til now that this your third arriuall here
 doth cause me come abroad, and boldly thus appeare.

The
 Queen's
 Visit in
 1568 is
 forgotten.

† *Seeming*—first edition.

‡ O. Fr. *Garboul*; hurly-burly, great stir—*Cotgrave*.

Her garboils, Caesar,
 Made out of her impatience.
Ant. and Cleop., ii. 2.

- ¶ For after him such stormes this Castle shooke,
 by swarming *Saxons* first who scourge this land,
 As forth of this my* pool I nere durst looke.
 Though *Kenelm* king of *Merce* did take in hand
 (As sorrowing to see it in deface)
 to reare these ruines up, and fortifie this place.
- ¶ For straight by Danes and Normans all this Ile
 was sore distrest, and conquered at last,
 Whose force this Castle felt, and I therewhile
 did hide my head, and though it straightway past
 Unto Lord *Sentloes*† hands, I stode at bay:
 and neuer shewed my selfe, but stil in keepe I lay.
- ¶ The Earle sir *Mounfords* force gaue me no hart,
 sir *Edmund Crouchbackes* state, the princes sonne,
 Could not Cause me out of my lake to part,
 nor *Roger Mortimers* ruffe,‡ who first begun
 (As *Arthurs* heire) to keepe the table round,
 could not comfort§ my hart, or cause me come on ground.
- ¶ Nor any owner els, not he that's now,
 (such feare I felt againe, some force to feele)
 Tyl now the Gods doe seeme themselues t' allow
 my comming forth, which at this time reueale
 By number due, that your thrice comming here
 doth bode thrise happy hope, and voides the place from feare.
- ¶ Wherefore I wil attend while you lodge here,
 (most peereles Queene) to Court to make resort,
 And as my loue to *Arthure* dyd appeere,
 so shalt to you in earnest and in sport,
 Passe on Madame, you neede no longer stand,
 the Lake, the Lodge, the Lord, are yours for to comāde.

* My pool. Note the *number*. Had not Leicester drained the smaller pool?

† There was a Sir William Santloe or Saintlow, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, but he had been dead some years, and his widow was now the 'malign' Countess of Shrewsbury. The Sentloes were lords of Tormarton in Gloucestershire, and never had Kenilworth. It seems to me therefore, either that the name 'Clintōe' may have been blundered into 'Senloe,' or that M. Ferrers 'Lord of Misrule' may have crammed up his lesson very badly. The Clintons were evidently forgotten. [Scott twice speaks of a Saintlowe's Tower].

‡ Ruffe? *melée*.

§ Confort.

. *These verses were deuised and penned by M. Ferrers,* sometime Lord of misrule† in the Court.*

Her Maiesty proceeding towards the inner court, passed on a bridge, the which was rayled in on both sides. And in the toppes of the postes thereof were set sundrie presents, and giftes of prouision: As wine, corne, fruites, fishes, fowles, instrements of musike, and weapons for martial defence. All which were expounded by an Actor clad like a Poet, who pronounced these verses in Latine:

*Iupiter è summi dum vertice cernit olympi,
Huc, princeps regina, tuos te tendere gressus,
Scilicet exiniæ succensus imagine formæ,
Et memor antiqui qui semper feruorat ignis,
Siccine Cælicolæ patientur turpiter (inquit)
Muneris exortem Reginam hoc visere castrum,
Quod tam læta subit? Reliqui sensere tonantis
Imperium superi, pro se dat quisque libenter;
Musicolas Sylvanus aues; Pomonaque poma,
Fruges alma Ceres: rorantia vina Lyæus:
Neptunus pisces, Tela & tutantia Manors;
Hæc (Regina potens) superi dant munera diui:
Ipse loci dominus dat se Castrumque Kenelmi.*

These verses were deuised by master *Muncaster*,‡ and other verses§ to the very selfe same effect were deuised by M. *Patn*, and fixed ouer the gate in a frame. I am not verie sure whether these or master *Patens* were pronounced by the Author, but they were all to one effect. This speech being ended, she was receiued into the inner Court with sweet Musicke. And so alighting from her horse, the Drummes, Fifes and Trumpets sounded: wherewith shee mounted the stayres, and went to her lodging.

On the next day (being Sunday) there was nothing done vntil the euening, at which time there wer fire-works shewed vpon the water, the which were both strange and wel executed; as sometimes passing vnder the water a long space, when all men had thought they had bene quenched, they would rise and mount out of the water againe, and burne very furiously vntill they were vtterlie consumed.

Now to make some playner declaration and rehearsall of all these things before her Maiestie, on the x of Iulie there met her in the Forest as she came from hunting, one clad like a Sauage man, all in Iuie, who seeming to woonder at such a presence, fell to quarrelling with Iupiter as followeth.

* George Ferrers probably of Baddesley Clinton in this county, not Edward, an elder wit and poetaster of the same family and order, nor Henry, also a writer of verse: see Mr. Colvile's 'Warwickshire Worthies.'

† *Misrule*. See Stubbs's 'Anatomie of Abuses,' ed. 1585, fol. 92 (6) in Grindal's Remains (Parker Soc.) and in Adland. For the 'merrie disports' of misrule, read Sir W. Scott's Abbot, c. xiii.

‡ Master Muncaster. Was he related to the Head Master of St. Paul's, Rector of Stamford Rivers in Essex, Prebend of Salisbury, who died 1611?

§ The other verses are preserved in Laneham's Letter, vide p. 78 ante.

O Thundering *Iupiter*,
 At whose command all Gods must crouch
 Since I (O wretch therewhiles)
 Ordeyned thus in sauage wise,
 Since for some cause vnknowen,
 I may not come in stately Court
 Vouchsafe yet greatest God,
 Why all these worthy Lords and Peeres,
 Thou knowest (O mighty God)
 But needes must mount, if once it see
 And since I see such sights,
 As kindle might in frozen brestes,
 I craue (great God) to know
 And what has moued these sundry shewes,
 Enforme me some good man,
 They all cry mumme, what shall I do,
 ¶ Wel *Eccho*, where art thou?
 Shee would returne me answere yet
 Ho *Eccho*: *Eccho*, ho,
 Why *Eccho* friend, where dwellest thou now!

which swaycest the heauenly sword:
 and knowledge thce their Lord.
 am here by thy decree,
 for euermore to be.
 but only to thy wil:
 but feede in forrestes still.
 that I the cause may know
 are here assembled so?
 no man can be so base,
 a sparke of perfect grace.
 I meane such glorious Dames,
 a furnace full of flames,
 what all these Peeres might be:
 which I of late did see?
 speake, speake some courteous knight,
 what sunne shall lend me light?
 could I but *Eccho* finde,
 by blast of euery winde.
 where art thou, *Eccho*, where?
 thou woontst to harbour here.

Eccho answered.*

Eccho. Here.
 then tell thou me some newes
 For els my heart would burst with griefe,
Eccho. Choose.
 Choose? why? but thou me helpe
 And therefore euen of curtesie,
Eccho. Speake.
 I speake, yes that I will
 Then tell me first what is the cause,
Eccho. Ioy.
 Ioy? surely that is so,
 But wherefore do they so reioyce?
Eccho. Queene.
 Queene? what the Queene of heauen?
 No sure† some Queene on earth,
Eccho. None.
 O then, it seemes the Queene,
 Whose graces make the Gods to grudge,
Eccho. Shee.

of trueth it cannot choose.
 Choose.
 I say my heart wil breake:
 I pray thee *Eccho* speake.
 Speake.
 vnlesse thou be too coye,
 that all the people ioy?
 Ioy.
 as may full well be scene:
 is it for King or Queene?
 Queene.
 they knewe hir long agone:
 whose like was neuer none.
 None.
 of England for to be:
 me thinkes it should be shee.
 Shee.

* Compare Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's *H. Pastor Fido Actus Quartus. Scena Octava.*
 So Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels, A. i. Sc. iii. &c.*

† *No sure it is some Queene on earth*—first edition.

And is it she in deede?
 By euery shew that yet was seene,
Eccho,
 What meant the woman first,
 Could she deuine of things to come,
Eccho,
 The same? what *Sibill*? she
 Alas what dyd that beldame there?
Eccho,
 O then by lyke she causde,
 What happy raigne she still should hold,
Eccho,
 And what ment those great men?
 They were some Gyants certainly,
Eccho,
 Haue bene? why then they serued
 And euer since this castle kept,
Eccho,
 Well *Hercules* stood bie,
 Or was it eke some monstrous man,
Eccho,
 A porter? surely then,
 Or else to see so many men,
Eccho,
 Amased? so me thought,
 And yeeld his keyes? percase he knew,
Eccho,
 Well, then dyd he but well,
 Much like the Lady of the Lake;
Eccho,
 Alas, and what could she
 I knewe her well: percase she came
Eccho,
 So would I her aduise:
 Of sundry things upon a bridge?
Eccho,
 Gifts? what? sent from the Gods?
 Or pleasures of prouision,
Eccho,
 And who gaue all these gifts?
 Was it not he? who (but of late)
Eccho,

then tell me what was ment,
 good *Eccho* be content.
 Content.
 which met hir as she came?
 as *Sibelles* vse the same?
 The same.
 which vseth not to lye?
 what dyd she prophecie?
 Prophecie.
 the worthy Queene to knowe:
 since heaucens ordeyned so.
 So.
 which on the walles were seene:
 no men so bigge haue bene.
 Haue bene.
 King *Arthur* man of might.
 for *Arthurs* heyres by right.
 Right.
 why came he from his dorter? *
 appoynted for a porter?
 A porter.
 he eyther was accrased, †
 his spirits were amased.
 Amased.
 why dyd he let them passe:
 his masters will so was.
 So was.
 yet sawe I yet a dame:
 perchaunce so was hir name.
 Her name.
 (poore dame distrest) deserue?
 this worthy Queene to serue.
 To serue.
 but what meant all those shifts?
 were those rewards of gifts?
 Gifts.
 as presents from aboue?
 as tokens of true love?
 True loue.
 I pray thee (*Eccho*) say?
 this building here did lay?
 DUDLEY.

* Dorter—a sleeping room or dormitory. Dortoir. Fr.

† Accrased—crazed, intellect impaired. Accrazer. Fr.

O DUDLEY, so me thought:
 A worthy gift to be receiued,
Eccho,
 What meant the fierie flames,
 Can no colde answers quench desire?
Eccho,
 Well *Eccho* tell me yet,
 This comely Queene of whom we talke?
Eccho,
 By me? oh were that true,
 How might I know her from the rest,
Eccho,
 Well then if so myne eyes,
 Me thinkes I see among them all,
Eccho,

he gaue him selfe and all,
 and so I trust it shall.
 It shall.
 which through the waues so flue?
 is that experience true?
 True.
 howe might I come to see:
 oh were she nowe by thee.
 By thee.
 howe might I see her face?
 or iudge her by her grace?
 Her grace.
 be such as they haue beene,
 this same should be the Queene.
 The Queene.

¶ *Herewith he fell on his knees and spake as followeth.*

O Queene I must confesse,
 These ciuile people so reioyce,
 Since I, which liue at large,
 And haue ronne out a wilfull race,
 Doe here submit my selfe,
 And that you take in worth my will,
 Had I the learned skyll,
 My tale had flowed in eloquence,
 Had I the bewties blase,
 Then might I seeme a Faulcon fayre,
 Could I but touch the strings,
 I would confesse, that fortune then,
 O Queene (without compare)
 That here amid this wilderness,
 The windes resound your worth,
 These hils, these dales, these woods, these waues,
 And we which dwell abroad,
 But tydings of an English Queene,
 Yea since I first was borne,
 As when I might behold your face,
 And death or drearie dole,
 As soone as you shall once depart,
 But comely peerelesse Prince,
 Walke here sometimes in pleasant shade,

it is not without cause:
 that you should giue them lawes.
 a wilde and sauadge man:
 since first my lyfe began.
 beseeching you to serue:
 which can but well deserue.
 which in your head is found:
 where nowe my words are drownd.
 which shines in you so bright:
 which nowe am but a Kite.
 which you so heauenly handle;
 full freendly dyd me dandle.
 you must not think it strange,
 your glorie so doth raunge.
 the rockes record your name:
 these fields pronounce your fame.
 can heare none other newes:
 whom heauen hath dect with hewes.
 I neuer ioyed so much:
 because I see none such.
 (I know) will end my days,
 or wish to go your wayes.
 since my desires be great:
 to fende the parching heate.

Here' the
 Queene
 saide
 that the
 Actor
 was
 blind.

* This and the subsequent marginal notes are from the *first Edition*.

On the
Thurs-
day
following
was pre-
pared
another
shew
for the
same
place.

¶ On Thursday next (thinke I)
Who bet* then I may make you glee,
Meane while (good Queene) farewell,
And take in worth the wilde mans words,

here will be pleasant Dames:
with sundry gladsome games.
the Gods your life prolong:
for else you do him wrong.

¶ Then he bad *Eccho* farewell, thus.

Eccho likewise farewell,
Since I may see this Queene no more,

let me go seeke some death,
good greef nowe stop my breath.

¶ *These verses were deuised, penned, and pronounced by master Gascoigne: and that (as I haue heard credibly reported) upon a very great sudden.*

The next thing that was presented before her Maiestie, was the deliuerie of the Lady of the Lake: wherof the summe was this. *Tryton* in likenesse of a Mermaide, came towarde the Queenes Maiestie as she passed ouer the bridge, returning from hunting. And to her declared that *Neptune* had sent him to her highnes, to declare the wofull distresse wherein the poore Ladie of the Lake did remaine, the cause whereof was this. Sir *Bruse*, *Sauns pittic*,† in reuenge of his cosen *Merlyne* the Prophet: (whom for his inordinate lust she had inclosed in a rocke) did continuallie pursue the Ladie of the Lake: and had (long sithens) surprised hir, but that *Neptune* (pitying hir distresse) had enuyroned hir with waues. Whereupon she was enforced to liue alwaies in that Poole, and was therby called the Lady of the Lake. Furthermore affirming that by *Merlynes* prophecie, it seemed she coulde neuer be deliuered but by the presence of a better maide then hir selfe. Wherefore *Neptune* had sent him right humbly to beseech her maiestie that she would no more but shew her selfe, and it should bee sufficient to make sir *Bruse* withdrawe his forces. Furthermore, commanding both the waues to be calme, and the fishes to giue their attendance: And this he expressed in verse as followeth.

¶ The Speech of *Tryton* to the Queenes Maiestie.

Muse not at all most mightie Prince,
Me *Triton* floate, that in salt seas,
For looke what *Neptune* doth commaund,
And nowe in charge I am to guyde
Who, when your highnesse hither came,
And to attende vpon your Court,
But parting hence that yrefull knight
And sought by force her virgin state
Yea, yet at hand about these bankes,
That neither can she come nor scape,
For though that *Neptune* has so fenst,
Yet *Mars* her foe must needs preuaile,

though on this lake you see
among the Gods should be.
of *Triton* is obeyde:
your poore distressed mayde;
dyd humbly yeeld her Lake;
did loyall promise make.
syr *Bruce* had hyr in chase,
full fowlie to deface.
his bands be often scene:
but by your helpe, O Queene.
with floods her fortresse long;
his battries are so strong.

* Bet, *better*.

† Sir T. Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*. Bk. x, ch. 65.

Howe then can *Diane*, *Iunos* force,
When all the crue of cheefest Gods,
Yea, oracle and prophecie,
Except a worthier maide then she
Loe, here therefore a worthy worke,
Her, to defend and set at large:
And Gods decree and *Neptune* sues,
Your presence onely shall suffice,

and sharpe assaults abyde?
is bent on *Bruse* his side.
say sure she can not stande,
her cause do take in hand.
most fit for you alone;
(but* you, O Queene) can none:
this graunt O peereles Prince:
her enemies to conuince.

¶ Herewith *Triton* soundeth his Trompe and spake to the winds, waters and Fishes, as followeth.

You winds returne into your Caves,
You waters wilde suppress your waues,
You fishes all, and each thing else,
I charge you all in *Neptunes* name,
Until such time this puissaunt Prince,
And that the maide released be,

and silent there remaine:
and keepe you calme and plaine.
that here haue any sway;
you keepe you at a stay.
sir *Bruse* hath put to flight:
by soueraigne maidens might.

This speach being ended, her Maiestie proceeded further on the bridge, and the Ladie of the Lake (attended with her two Nymphes,) came to her vppon heapes of Bulrushes, according to this former deuise: And spake as followeth.

What worthy thanks, might I poore maide expresse?
Or thinke in heart, that is not iustly due:
To thee (O Queene) which in my great distres,
Succours hast sent mine enemies to subdue?
Not mine alone, but foe to Ladyes all,
That tyrant *Bruce*, *Sans pitie* whom we call.

¶ Untyll this day, the Lake was neuer free,
From his assaults, and other of his Knights:
Untill such tyme as he dyd playnely see
Thy presence dread, and feared of all wyghts.
Which made him yeeld, and all his bragging bands,
Resigning all into thy Princely hands.

¶ For which great grace of liberty obtayned,
Not onely I but Nymphs and sisters all,
Of this large Lake: with humble heart vnfayned:
Render thee thanks, and honour thee withall.
And for playne prooffe, how much we do reioyce:
Expresse the same, with tongue, with sound and voice.

* But, *except*.

From thence her Maiestie passing yet further on the brydge, *Protheus* appeared, sitting on a *Dolphyns* backe. And the *Dolphyn* was conueied vpon a boate, so that the Owers seemed to be his Fynnes. With in the which *Dolphyn* a Consort of Musicke was secretely placed, the which sounded, and *Protheus* clearing his voyce, sang this song of congratulation, as well in the behalfe of the Lady distressed, as also in the behalfe of all the Nimphs and gods of the Sea.

¶ The Song of *Protheus*.

O Noble Queene give eare,	to this my floating muse:
And let the right of readie will,	my little skill excuse.
For heardmen of the seas	sing not the sweetest notes:
The winds and waues do roare and crie	where <i>Phoebus</i> seldome floates:
Yet since I doe my best,	in thankfull wise to sing;
Vouchsafe (good Queene) that calme consent	these words to you may bring,
We yeeld you humble thanks	in mightie <i>Neptunes</i> name,
Both for our selues and therewithall,	for yonder seemely Dame.
A Dame: whom none but you,	deliuer could from thrall:
Ne none but you deliuer vs,	from loitring life withall.
She pined long in paine,	as ouerborne with woes:
And we consumde in endles care,	to fend her from her foes.
Both which you set at large,	most like a faithful freend;
Your noble name be praised therefore,	and so my song I ende.

This song being ended, *Protheus* told the Queenes Maiestie a pleasaunt tale of his deliuerie, and the Fishes which hee had in charge. The deuise of the Lady of the Lake also was master *Hunnes*: and surely if it had bene executed according to the first inuention, it had bene a gallant shewe: for it was first deuised, that (two dayes before the Ladie of the Lakes deliuerie) a captaine with twentie or thyrtye shotte should haue bene sent from the Hearon house (which represented the Lady of the Lakes Castell) upon heapes of bulrushes: and that syr *Bruse* shewing a great power upon the land, shoulde haue sent out as many or moe shot to surprise the sayde Captayne, and so they should haue skirmished vpon the waters in such sort, that no man coulde perceiue but that they went upon the waues: at last (syr *Bruse* his men being put to flight) the captaine should haue come to her maiestie at the castell window, and haue declared (more plainly the distresse of his mistresse) and the cause that she came not to the Court according to dutie and promise, to giue hyr attendance: and that thereupon he should haue besought hyr Maiestie to succour his mistresse: the rather because *Merlin* had prophecied that she should neuer be deliuered but by the presence of a better maide then her selfe. This had not onely bene a more apt introduction to her deliuerie, but also the skirmish by night woulde haue bene both very strange and gallant: and thereupon her Maiestie might haue taken good occasion to haue gone in her barge vpon the water, for the better executing of her deliuerie. The verses as I thinke were penned, some by master *Hunnes*, some by master *Ferrers*, and some by master *Goldingham*.*

There
was a
Heron
house
in the
Boole.

* See an anecdote respecting this Harry Goldingham in a note to Laneham's Letter, p. 95 ante.

And nowe you haue asmuch as I could recouer hitherto of the deuises executed there; the countrie* shewe excepted, and the merry marriage: the which were so plaine as needeth no further explication. To proceede then, there was prepared a shew to haue bene presented before hyr maiestie in the Forest;

The argument whercof was this.

Dyana passing in chase with her Nymphs, taketh knowledge of the countrie, and thereby calleth to minde howe (neere seuentene yeares past) she lost in those Coastes one of her best beloued Nymphes called *Zabeta*.† She describeth the rare vertues of *Zabeta*. One of her Nymphes confirmeth the remembrance thereof, and seemeth to doubt that Dame *Iuno* hath wonne *Zabeta* to be a follower of hers: *Dyana* confirmeth the suspition, but yet affirming‡ her selfe much in *Zabeta's* constancie, giueth charge to her Nymphes, that they diligently hearken and espie in all places to finde or here newes of *Zabeta*: and so passeth on.

To entertayne *Interuallum temporis*, a man cladde all in Mosse commeth in lamentyng, and declaryng that he is the wylde mans sonne, which (not long before) had presented him selfe before hyr maiestie; and that his Father (uppon such wordes as hyr highnesse dyd then vse vnto him) lay languishing like a blind man, until it might please hyr highnesse to take the filme from his eyes.

In the latter ende of the Echo her Majesty told the wilde man that he was blinde.

The Nymphes returne one after another in quest of *Zabeta*; at last *Diana* her selfe returning and hearing no newes of her, invoketh the helpe of her Father *Iupiter*. *Mercurie* commeth downe in a cloude, sent by *Iupiter*, to recomfort *Diana*, and bringeth her vnto *Zabeta*. *Diana* reioyceth, and after much frendly discourse departeth: affying§ her selfe in *Zabeta's* prudence and pollicie: She and *Mercurie* (being deported) *Iris* commeth downe from the Rainebowe sent by *Iuno*: Perswading the Queenes Maiestie that she be not caryed away with *Mercuries* filed|| speach, nor *Diana's* faire words; but that she consider all things by* prooffe, and then shee shall finde much greater cause to followe *Iuno* than *Diana*.

The Interlocutours were these.

Diana, Goddess of Chastitie.

† *Castibula*, *Anamale*, *Nichalis*, *Diancs* Nymphes.

Mercurie, *Ioues* messenger.

Iris, *Iunos* messenger.

Audax, the sonne of *Siluester*.

* *Coventrie*. First Edition. This and "the merry marriage" are described by Lancham.

† *Zabeta*. The Poet, under this portion of Queen Elizabeth's name, in Latin, made his royal mistress the subject of a shew, or device, which was evidently formed agreeably to instructions from Leicester, or the Queen's ministers, and turned upon the national wish for her marriage; a subject often pressed upon her notice.

‡ *Affying*—First edition.

§ *Affying*—*assuring*. Fr. *Affier*. || *Filed*—*smooth, polished*. * *By the prooffe*—First Edition.

† Queer hybrid anagram-like names: contrast those in Ovid *Metam.* iii Bk.

The Thebane lady Crocale more cunning than the rest,
Did trusse her tresses handsomely which hung behinde yndrest,
And yet her owne hung waving still. Then Nephe neat and cleane,
With Hiale glistring like the grasse in beutie fresh and sheene,
And Rhanis clearer of her skin than are the rainie drops,
And little bibling Phyale, and Pseke that pretie mops,
Poured water into vessels large to wash their ladie with.

ACTUS I. SCENA I.

DIANA. CASTIBULA.

Diana
should
have bene
attended
with—
Nymphes
more.

Mine owne deere Nymphes, which knowledge me your Queene,
 And vow (like me) to live in chastitie
 My louely Nymphes (which be as I have bene)
 Delitefull Dames, and gemmes of iolytie.
 Reioysing yet (much more) to driue your dayes,
 In life at large, that yeeldeth calme content,
 Then wilfully to treade the wayward wayes,
 Of wedded state, which is to thraldome bent.
 I neede not nowe, with curious speach perswade,
 Your chast consents, in constant vowe to stande,
 But yet beware least *Cupids* Knights inuade,
 By slight, by force, by mouth or mightie hand,
 The stately tower of your vnspotted myndes:
 Beware (I say) least whiles we walke these woods,
 In pleasant chase, of swiftest Harts and Hyndes,
 Some harmfull hart entrap your harmlesse moodes,
 You know these holts,* these hils, these couert places,
 May close conuey, some hidden force vnseene.
 You see likewise, the sundry gladsome graces,
 Which (in this soyle we ioyfully haue seene,)
 Are not vnlike some Court to keepe at hand:
 Where guilefull tongues, with sweete enticing tales,
 Might (*Circes* like) set all your ships on sand:
 And turne your present blysse to after bales.
 In sweetest flowres the subtyll Snakes may lurke:
 The Sugred baite oft hides the harmefull hookes;
 The smoothest words, draw wils to wicked worke,
 And deepe deceipts, do follow fairest looks.

*Hereat pausing, and looking about her, She took knowledge
 of the coast and proceeded.*

But what? ah las: oh whyther wander wee?
 What chase hath led vs thus into this coast?
 By sundrie signes, I nowe perceiue we be,
 In *Brutus* land, whereof he made such boast,
 Which *Albion* in olden dayes dyd hyght,
 And *Brittaine* next by *Brute* his noble name:

* *Holt*, a wood. Germ. *holz*. So Verstegan, of surnames, "*Holt*, of his dwelling in or at a wood." *Holt*, a wooded hill (Germ. *holtz*, a wood). "In the morning he was ware, betwixt two holts hoar, of a chapel and an hermitage.—*Mort d'Arthur*, xxi. v. (*Strachan*) cp. xi. "An hermitage and a chapel stood betwixt two cliffs."

Comes a vapour from the margin,
 Blackening over heath and holt.
Tennyson's Locksley Hall.

Then *Engistes* lande as Chronicles do write:
 Now *England* short, a land of worthy fame:
 Ah las behold, how memory breedes moone:
 Behold and see, how sight bryngs sorow in:
 My restlesse thoughts, haue made me woe begon;
 My gasing eyes, dyd all this greefe begin.
 Beleeue me (Nimphs) I feele great grips of greefe,
 Which bruse my brest, to thinke how here I lost:
 (Now long agoe) a loue to me most lefe.*
 Content you all: hyr whom I loued most:
 You can not chuse, but call vnto your mynde,
Zabeta's name, who twentie yeeres or more
 Dyd follow me, still scorning *Cupids* kinde,
 And vowing so, to serue me euermore:
 You cannot chuse but beare in memory,
Zabeta hyr, whose excellencie was such,
 In all respects of euery qualitie,
 As Gods themselues, those gifts in her did grutch.
 My sister first, which *Pallas* hath to name,
 Enuyed *Zabeta*, for hyr learned brayne.
 My sister *Venus*, feared *Zabeta's* fame,
 Whose gleames of grace, hyr beuties blase dyd stayne,
Apollo drad to touch, an Instrument,
 Where my *Zabeta* chaunst to come in place:
 Yea *Mercurie* was not so eloquent,
 Nor in his words had halfe so good a grace.
 My stepdame, *Iuno* in her glyttering guyse,
 Was nothing like so heauenlie to beholde;
 Short tale to make, *Zabeta* was the wight,
 On whom to thinke my heart now waxeth cold.
 "The fearefull byrd, oft lets hyr food downe fall,
 "Which findes her neast, dispoyled of hyr yong:"
 Much like myselfe: whose mynde such mones appale,
 To see this soyle, and therewithall among,
 To thinke how now, neere seuentecne yeeres agoe,
 By great myshap I chaunst to leese her here:
 But my decre Nimphes (on hunting as you go)
 Looke narrowly: and harken euery where.
 It cannot be, that such a starre as she,
 Can leese hyr lyght for any lowring clowde.
 It cannot be, that such a Saint to see,
 Can long in shrine her seemly selfe so shroude.

* *Lief*, dear: *lef* lief, dear life.—*William and the Werewolf*, 1879. &c.

So Q. Margaret calls Henry VI.
 Mine alder-lifest Sovereign

GASCOIGNE'S PRINCELYE PLEASURES.

I promise here, that she which first can bryng,
 The ioyfull newes of my *Zabeta's* lyfe,
 Shall neuer breake hyr bow, nor fret hyr string.
 I promise eke, that neuer storme of strife
 Shall trouble hyr: nowe Nymphs looke well about:
 Some happie eye, spy my *Zabeta* out.

CASTIBULA.

O heauenly Dame, thy wofull words have pearst,
 The very depth of your* forgetfull mynde:
 And by the tale, which thou hast here rehearst,
 I yet record, those heauenly gifts which shinde,
 Tryumphantly, in bright *Zabeta's* deedes:
 But therewithall, a sparke of iellowsie:
 With nice conceypt, my mynde thus farforth feedes
 That she which alwayes liked liberty,
 And coulde not bowe to beare the seruyle yoke,
 Of false suspect, which mars these louers marts,
 Was neuer wonne to lyke that smouldring smoke,
 Without some feate, that passeth common arts.
 I dread Dame *Iuno* with some gorgeous gift,
 Hath layde some snare, hyr fancie to entrap,
 And hopeth so hyr loftie mynde to lyft
 On *Hymens* bed, by height of worldly hap.

DIANA.

My louing Nymph, euen so feare I likewise,
 And yet to speake as truth and cause requires,
 I neuer sawe, *Zabeta* use the guyse,
 Which gaue suspect of such unchast desires.
 Full twentie yeeres, I marked still hyr mynde,
 Ne could I see that any sparke of lust
 A loytring lodge, within hyr breast could finde.
 How so it be (deare Nymphes) in you I trust:
 To harke, and marke, what might of hyr betyde:
 And what mishap, withholds hyr thus from me.
 High *Ioue* hymselfe my luckie steps so guide,
 That I may once mine owne *Zabeta* see.

*Dyana with hir Nymphes proccede in chase: and, to entertaine time,
 commeth in one clad in mosse, saying as followeth.*

* *My*—first edition.

ACTUS I. SCENA 2.

AUDAX solus.

If euer pitie pearst
 Or ruthfull mone moued noble minde,
 Then worthy Queene, geve eare,
 For needes that sonne must sobbe and sigh,
 O Queene, O stately Queene,
 Which not long since before you here,
 Who tolde you what he thought
 And therefore euer since (and yet)
 Alas, alas good Queene,
 To punish him which speakes no more
 Especially when as
 And seeme with common voyce to proue
 You heard what *Eccho* said,
 You heare the speech of *Dyanacs* Nymphes,
 And can your Highnesse then,
 Or can you so with needeles greefe,
 His eyes (good Queene) be great
 He neuer yet had pinne or webbe,
 And sure the Dames that dwell,
 Haue thought his eyes of skil inough,
 For prooffe your Maiestie
 He did not onley see you then,
 What after should betide,
 You should finde here bright heauenly dames,
 And now you finde it true,
 Your praises peyze* by them a pound,
 For sure he is not blinde,
 But yet because you tolde him so,
 And I therefore (his sonne)
 To take in worth (as subiects due)
 and if you find some filme,
 Vouchsafe (good Queene) to take it off,
 He sighing lies and saies,
 Ere choice of change in England fall,

a peerelesse Princesse breast;
 to graunt a iust request;
 vnto my woful tale:
 whose Father bides in bale.
 I am that wilde mans sonne,
 presumed for to runne.
 of all your vertues rare:
 he pines in woe and care.
 it were a cruel deede,
 but what he thinkes in deede.
 all men with him consent,
 the pith of his intent.
 to euery word he spake;
 and what reports they make.
 condemne him to be blinde?
 torment his harmeles minde?
 so are they cleere and graye:
 his sight for to decay.
 in woods abroad with us:
 their beuties to discusse.
 may now full plainly see:
 but more he did foresee.
 he tolde you that (ere long)
 would sing the selfesame song.
 that he did then pronounce,
 which he weyed but an ounce.
 nor lame of any limme:
 he doubts his eyes are dimme.
 your Highnesse here beseech,
 my Fathers simple speech.
 that seemes to hide his eyes:
 in gracious woonted wise.
 God put mine eyes out cleane,
 to see an other Queene.

FINIS Actus I.

* Peyze *weigh*. Fr. *peser*.

ACTUS 2. SCENA 1.

ANAMALE sola.

The
Nymphs
one goe
after
another
to see for
Zabeta.

Would God I either had some Argus eyes,
Or such an eare as euery tydings heares,
Oh that I could some subiltie deuise,
To heare or see what mould *Zabeta* beares,
That so the moode of my *Dyanacs* minde,
Might rest (by me) contented or appeased.
And I likewise might so her fauour finde,
Whom (Goddesse like) I wish to haue wel pleased.
Some courteous winde come blowe me happy newes;
Some sweete birde sing and shewe me where she is;
Some Forrest God, or some of *Faunus* crues,
Direct my feete if so they treade amisse.

ACTUS 2. SCENA 2.

NICHALIS sola.

If cuer *Eccho* sounded at request,
To satisfie an discontented mind,
Then *Eccho* now come helpe me in my quest,
And tel me where I might *Zabeta* finde.
Speake *Eccho*, speake, where dwels *Zabeta*, where?
Alas, alas, or she, or I am deafe.
She answered not, ha! what is that I heare?
Alas it was the shaking of some leafe.
Wel since I heare not tidings in this place,
I wil goe seeke her out in some place els:
And yet my mind divineth in this case,
That she is here, or not farre off she dwels.

ACTUS 2. SCENA 3.

DIANA with her Traine.

She
kneels
downe
and
prayeth
to
Jupiter.

No newes my Nymphes, wel then I may wel thinke,
That carelesly you haue of her enquired:
And since from me in this distresse you shrinke,
(While I meane while) my wearie limmes haue tyred;
My Father *Ioue*, vouchsafe to rue my greefe,
Since here on earth I call for helpe in vaine:
O king of kings send thou me some releefe,
That I may see *Zabeta* once againe.

ACTUS 2. SCENA 4.

MERCURY, DIANA, and the *Nymphes*.

O Goddes ceasse thy mone,
 And *Ioue* thy frendly Father hath
 Yea more he hath vouchsaft,
 Me downe from heauen to heale thy harme
Zabeta whom thou seekest,
 And passinglie in woonted wise,
 But, as thou doest suspect,
 And many a day to winne her wil
 For first these sixteene yeres,
 In richest Realme that *Europe* hath,
 And *Iuno* hath likewise
 The richest and the brauest both,
 With other worthy wights,
 And cunningly, with quaint conceits,
 Dame *Iuno* geues her wealth,
 Dame *Iuno* gets her euery good
 And so in ioy and peace
 Not as thou thoughtst, nor done to death,
 For though she finde the skil
 Yet cannot *Iuno* winne her will
 Unto the wedded life:
 And holdes her neck from any yoke,
 Thus much it pleased *Ioue*
 And furthermore by words exprest,
 But bring thee to the place,
 To prop up so thy stagrind mind,
 O Goddes then be blithe,
 Thy heauenly fathers will it is,

Thy plaints haue pearst the skies,
 Vouchsaft to heare thy cries.
 In hast (post hast) to send
 And all thy misse to mend.
 (In heart) euen yet is thine,
 Her vertues stil doe shine.
 Dame *Iuno* trained a trap,
 Hath lulde her in her lap.
 Shee hath beene daily seene,
 A comelie crowned Queene.
 Suborned sundrie Kings,
 That this our age foorth brings,
 Which sue to her for grace;
 Doe pleade the Louers case.
 Dame *Iuno* geues her ease,
 That womans wil may please.
 She holdeth happy daies:
 Or wonne to wicked wayes.
 A kingdome for to weelde,
 Nor make her once to yeelde,
 But still she liues at large
 Without controll of charge.
 That I to thee should say,
 He bade I should not stay;
 Wherein *Zabeta* bides,
 Which in these sorrowes slides.
 Let comfort chase our greefe,
 To lend thee such reliefe.

Mercurie
 was
 appointed
 to haue
 come
 down
 in a
 clowde as
 sent in
 great
 haste
 from
 heauen.

• DIANA.

O Noble *Mercurie*,
 That I shall see *Zabeta's* face,
 (Euen yet) in constant vowe
 And that my stepdame cannot yet
 If that be so indeede,
 Whom greefe and grones haue made so hoarce,
 O *Muses* sound the praise
 And you deere *Nymphes* which me attend,

doest thou me then assure,
 and that she doeth endure
 of chaste unspotted life:
 make her a wedded wife.
 O *Muses* helpe my voice,
 I cannot wel reioyce.
 of *Ioue*, his mighty name;
 by duetie doe the same.

*Here Dyana with her Nymphes assisted by a consort of musicke unscene, shoulde sing this song, or
 rondled* folowing.*

* To sing a roundel at their departing.—*Chaucer's Assembly of Fowls.*

O Muses now come helpe me to reioyce,
 Since *Ioue* hath changed my greefe to sodain ioy;
 And since the chaunce whereof I craued choice,
 Is graunted me to comfort mine annoy:
 O praise the name of *Ioue* who promist plaine,
 That I shall see *Zabeta* once againe.

O Gods of woods, and Goddes *Flora* eke,
 Now cleare your brestes and beare a part with me:
 My iewel she, for whom I woont to seeke,
 Is yet full safe, and soone I shal her see.
 O praise the name of *Ioue*, who promist plaine,
 That I shall see *Zabeta* once againe.

¶ And you deere Nymphes, who know what cruel care
 I bare in brest since she from me did part,
 May wel conceiue what pleasures I prepare,
 And how great ioyes I harbour in my hart.
 Then praise the name of *Ioue*, who promist plaine,
 That I shall see *Zabeta* once againe.

MERCURIE.

Come Goddes, come with me,
 For now thou shalt her here beholde,
 Behold where here she sits,
 Embrace her since she is to thee
 And I wil now returne
 Who graunt you both always to please

thy leysures last too long;
 for whom thou singst this song.
 whom thou so long hast sought:
 a Iewel deerely bought.
 to God in heauen on hie:
 his heauenly Maiestie.

Mercury departeth to heauen.

Pointing
to the
Queen's
Maiestie

She
wonder-
eth at the
Queen's
Maies-
ties
Prince-
lye port.

What, doe I dreame? or doth my minde but muse?
 Is this my leefe, my loue, and my delight?
 Or dyd this God my longing minde abuse,
 To feede my fancie with a fained sight?
 Is this *Zabeta*, is it she in deede?
 It is she sure: *Zabeta* mine all haile;
 And though dame Fortune seemeth you to feede
 With Princely port, which serues for your auaile,
 Yet geue me leaue to gaze you in the face,
 Since now (long since) my selfe your selfe did seeke,
 And be content for all your statelie grace,
 Stil to remaine a maiden alwaies meeke.
Zabeta mine (now Queene of high renowne),
 You know how wel I loued you alwaies;

And long before you did atcheeue this crowne,
 You know how wel you seemde to like my wayes:
 Since when; you, (woon by *Iunos* gorgeous giftes)
 Haue left my lawndes and closely kept in Court,
 Since when, delight and pleasures gallant shifts
 Haue fed your minde with many a Princely sport.
 But peereles Queene, (sometime my peereles maide)
 And yet the same as *Mercurie* doeth tel,
 Had you but knowen how much I was dismaide,
 When first you did forsake with me to dwel;
 Had you but felt what priuie panges I had,
 Because I could not finde you foorth againe;
 I know full wel your selfe would haue beene sad,
 To put me so to prooffe of pinching paine.
 Well, since *Dan Ioue* (my father) me assures,
 That, notwithstanding all my stepdames wyles,
 Your Maidens minde yet constant stil endures,
 Though wel content a Queene to be therewhiles;
 And since by prudence and by pollicie,
 You winne from *Iuno* so much worldly wealth,
 And since the Piller of your chastitie
 Still standeth fast as *Mercurie* me telleth,
 I ioy with you, and leaue it to your choice,
 What kinde of life you best shall like to holde.
 And in meane while I cannot but reioyce
 To see you thus bedect with glistering golde.
 To see you haue this traine of stately Dames,
 Of whome eche one may seeme some Goddes peere
 And you your selfe (by due desert of fame)
 A Goddes full, and so I leaue you here.
 It shall suffice that on your faith I trust;
 It shall suffice that once I haue you seene:
 Farewel; not as I would but as I must,
 Farewel my nimphe, farewel my noble Queene.

Diana with her traine, departeth.

ACTUS 2. SCENA ULTIMA.

IRIS sola.

Oh loe, I come to late:
 To helpe my willing feete, which fet
 Ah las I come too late,
 And Dame *Diana* fled likewise;
 Well, since a booteless plaint
 I will goe tell the Queene my tale.

d

oh why had I no wings
 these hastie frisking flings?
 that babling God is gone:
 here standes the Queene alone.
 but little would preuaile:
 O peereles prince all haile!

*Iris
 should
 haue
 come
 downe
 upon the
 stage
 home.*

The Queene of heauen her selfe,
 That tatling traytor *Mercurie*
 By curious filed speech,
 But Queene, had I come soone enough,
 And you whose wit excelles,
 Beare not in minde those flattering words
 You know that in his tongue
 You know his eloquence can serue
 But come to deedes in deede,
 Which Goddes meanes your greatest good,
 Call you to minde the time
Dianacs chase, and were not yet
 Remember all your life,
 And then compare it with the daies
 Were you not captiue caught?
 Were you not forst to leade a life
 Where was *Diana* then?
 Why did she not defend your state,
 Who brought you out of bryers:
 Who crowned first your comely head,
 Euen *Iuno*: she which meant
 To geue you more then will can wish,
 Wherefore good Queene forget
 Let neuer needlesse dread presume
 How necessarie were
 That know you wel, whose life alwayes
 The Countrey craues consent,
 And *Ioue* in heauen would smile to see
 His Queene hath sworne (but you)
 You know she lies with *Ioue* a nights,
 Then geue consent O Queene,
 Who for your wealth would haue you wed,
 Some empresse wil you make,
 Forgeue me (Queene :) the words are hers,
 I am but Messenger,
 That where you now in Princely port
 A world of wealth at wil,
 In wedded state, and therewithall,
 The staffe of your estate:
 Yet neuer wight felt perfect blis,

did send me to controle
 who hopes to get the gole,
 abusing you by arte,
 he should haue felt the smart.
 whose iudgement hath no peere:
 which he expressed here,
 consistes his cheefest might:
 to make the Crowe seeme white.
 and then you shall perceiue
 and which would you deceiue.
 in which you did insue*
 a guest of *Iunos* crue.
 before you were a Queene:
 which you since then haue scene.
 were you not kept in walles?
 like other wretched thralls?
 why did she you not ayde?
 which were and are her maide?
 who gaue you rule of Realmes?
 with Princely Dyademes?
 and yet dooth meane likewise
 or wit can wel deuise.
Dianacs tysing tale:
 to bring your blisse to bale.
 for worthy Queenes to wed
 in learning hath beene led.
 your virtues vaunt themselfe,
Diana set on shelve.
 there shal no mo be such:
 and night Rauens† may doe much.
 to *Iunocs* iust desire,
 and, for your farther hire,
 she bad me tel you thus:
 I come not to discusse.
 but sure she bade me say,
 haue past one pleasant day:
 you hencefoorth shall enioy,
 holde up from great annoy
 O Queene, O worthy Queene,
 but such as wedded bene.

Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.

* Insue—*follow*.

† Why night ravens?

I pray God, his bad voice bode no mischief! I had as lief have heard the Night raven, come what plague would have come after it.—*Much Ado*. ii. sc. 3.

Read the speech of Iris in the Masque in the 'Tempest'!—A. iv. sc. 1.

This shewce was deuised and penned by M. Gascoigne, and being prepared and redy (euery Actor in his garment) two or three dayes together, yet neuer came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing, then to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather.

The Queenes Maiestie hasting her departure from thence, the Earle commanded master *Gascoigne* to deuise some Farewel worth the presenting, whereupon he himselfe clad like unto *Sylvanus*, God of the Woods, and meeting her as she went on hunting, spake (*ex tempore*) as followeth.

Right excellent, puyssant and most happy Princesse, whiles I walke in these woods and wildernes (whereof I haue the charge) I haue often mused with my selfe that your Maiesty being so highly esteemed, so entirely beloued, and so largely endued by the Celestial powers: you can yet continually giue eare to the counsell of these terrestrial companions, and so consequently passe your time wheresoeuer they deuise or determine that it is meete for your royal person to be resident. Surely if your highnesse did vnderstand (as it is not to me vnknown) what pleasures haue been for you prepared, what great good will declared, what ioy and comfort conceiued in your presence, and what sorowe and greefe sustained by likelihode of your absence: yea (and that by the whole bench in heauē) since you first arryued in these Coastes: I thinke it would be sufficient to drawe your resolute determination for euer to abide in this Countrey, and neuer to wander any further by the direction and aduise of these Peeres and Councillers. Since thereby the heauens might greatly be pleased, and most men throughly recomforted. But because I rather wish the increase of your delights, thē any way to diminish the heape of your contentment, I will not presume to stay your hunting, for the hearing of my needlesse, thriftlesse, and bootelesse discours: but I doe humbly beseech that your excellencie will geeue mee leaue to attend you as one of your footemen, wherein I vndertake to doe you double seruice: for I will not onely conduct your Maiestie in safetie from the perillous passages which are in these Woods and Forrests, but will also recount unto you (if your maiestie vouchsafe to hearken thereunto) certain aduentures, neither vnpleasant to heare, nor vnprofitable to be marked.

¶ *Herewith her Maiestie proceeded, and Sylvanus continued as followeth.*

There are not yet twenty daies past (most noble queene) since I haue beene by the Procuror generall, twise seuerally summoned to appeare before the great Gods in their Council chamber, and making mine appearance according to my ducty, I haue scene in heauen two such exceedingly great Contraryeties, or rather two such wonderfull changes as drawe me into deepe admiration and suddayne perplexitie. At my first comming I found the whole company of heauen in such a iollitie, as I rather want skill to expresse it liuely, then wil to declare it redily. There was nothing in any corner to be scene, but reioysing and mirth, singing, daunsing, melody and harmony, amiable regards, plentiful rewards, tokens of loue, and great good wil, Tropheys and triumphes gifts and presents (alas my breath and memorie faile me) leaping, frisking, and clapping of hands.

To conclude, there was the greatest feast and ioye that euer Eye sawe, or Eare heard tell of, since heauen was heauen, and the earth began to haue his being. And enquiring the cause thereof: *Reason*, one of the heavenly Ushers, tolde me, that it was to congratulate for the comming of your most excellent Maiestie into this Countrey. In very deede to confesse a trueth, I might haue percciued no les by sundry manifest tokens here on earth, for euen here in my charge, I might see the trees flourish in more then ordinarie brauery, the grasse growe greener then it was woont to doe, and the Deere went tripping (though against their death) in extreme delicacie and delight. Wel, to

speak of that I sawe in heauen, euery God and Goddes made all preparations possible to present your Maiestie with some acceptable gift, thereby to declare the exceeding ioy which they conceiued in your presence. And I poore Rurall God, which am but seldome called amongst them, and then also but slenderly countenanced, yet for my great good will towardes your Maiestie no way inferior to the proudest God of them all, came downe againe with a flea in mine eare, and began to beate my braines for some deuice of some present, which might both bewray the depth of mine affections, and also be worthy for so excellent a Princesse to receiue. But whiles I went so musing with my selfe, many, yea too many dayes, I found by due experience that this Prouerbe was all too true, *Omnis mora trahit periculum*. For whiles I studyed to atcheeue the height of my desires: beholde I was the second time summoned to appeare in heauen. What said I? Heauen? no, no, most comely Queene, for when I came there, heauen was not heauen, it was rather a verye Hell. There was nothing but weeping and wayling, crying and howling, dole, desperation, mourning, and moane. All which I perceiued also here on earth before I went up, for of a trueth (most noble Princesse) not only the skies scowled, the windes raged, the waues rored and tossed, but also the Fishes in the waters turned up their bellies, the Deere in the woods went drowping, the grasse was wery of growing, the Trees shooke of their leaues, and all the Beastes of the Forrest stood amazed.

The which sudden change I plainly perceyued to be, for that they understood aboue, that your Maiestie would shortly (and too speedely) depart out of this Countrey, wherein the heauens haue happely placed you, and the whole earth earnestly desireth to keepe you. Surely (gracious Queene) I suppose that this late alteration in the skyes hath seemed vnto your iudgement droppes of raine in accustomed maner. But if your Highnesse will belecue me, it was nothing els but the very flowing teares of the Gods, who melted into moane for your hastie departure.

Well, because we Rurall Gods are bound patiently to abide the censure of the Celestiall bench, I thought meete to hearken what they would determine, and for a finall conclusion it was generally determined, that some conuenient Messenger should be dispatched with all expedition possyble, as wel to beseech your Maiestie that you would here remaine, as also further to present you with the proffer of any such commodities and delights, as might draw your full consent to continue here for their contentation, and the generall comfort of men.

Here her maiestie stayed her horse to fauour Syluanus, fearing least he should be driuē out of breath by following her horse so fast. But Syluanus humbly besought her Highnesse to goe on, declaring that if hys rude speech did not offend her, he coulde continue this tale to be twenty miles long. And therewithall protested that hee had rather be her maiesties footeman on earth, than a God on horseback in heauen, proceeding as followeth.

Now to return to my purpose (most excelent Queene) when I had heard their deliberation, and called vnto minde that sundry Realmes and Prouinces had come to vtter subertion by ouer great trust geuen to Ambassadors, I (being thorowly tickled with a restlesse desire) thought good to pleade in person, for I will tell your Maiestie one strange propertie that I haue, there are fewe or none which know my minde so wel as my selfe, neither are there many which can tel mine owne tale better than I my selfe can do. And therefore I haue continually awayted these 3 dayes, to espie when your Maiestie would (in accustomed manner) come on hunting this way.

And being now arriued most happely into the Porte of my desires, I wil presume to beseech most humbly, and to intreate most earnestly, that your highnes haue good regard to the general desire of the Gods, together with y^e humble petitions of your most loyal and deeply affectionate seruāts.

And for my poore part, in full token of my duetiful meaning, I here present you the store of my charge, vndertaking that the deare shalbe dayly doubled for your delight in chase. Furthermore I will intreate Dame *Flora* to make it continually spring here with store of redolent and fragrant Flowers. *Ceres* shall be compelled to yeelde your Maiestie competent prouision, & *Bacchus* shalbe sued vnto for the first fruits of his Vineyards. To be short, O pecelesse Princes, you shall haue all things that may possibly be gottun for the furtheraunce of your delights. And I shall be most glad and tryumphant, if I may place my Godhead in your seruice perpetually. This tedious tale O comely Queene, I began with a bashfull boldnes, I haue continued in base eloquence, and I cannot better knit it up, then with homely humilitie, referring the consideration of these my simple wordes, vnto the deepe discretion of your Princelie will. And now I wil, by your Maiesties leaue, turne my discourse into the rehearsal of strange and pitiful aduentures.

So it is, good gracious Lady, that *Diana* passeth often times through this forest with a stately traine of gallant and beautifull Nymphs.

Amongst whome there is one surpassing all the rest for singuler gifts and graces, some call her *Zabeta*, some other haue named hyr *Ahtebasile*,* some *Completa*, and some *Complacida*, what soeuer hyr name be I will not stande upon it. But (as I haue sayde) her rare giftes haue drawne the most noble and worthy personages in the whole world to sue vnto hyr for grace.

All which she hath so rigorously repulsed, or rather (to speake playne English) so obstinately and cruelly reiected, that I sigh to thinke of some their mishaps. I allowe and commende her iustice towards some others, and yet the teares stande in mine eyes (yea and my tongue trembleth and faltereth in my mouth) when I begin to declare the distresses wherein some of them doe presently remayne. I could tell your highnesse of sundry famous and worthy persons, whome shee hath turned and conuerted into most monstrous shapes and proportions. As some into Fishes, some other into foules, and some into huge stony rocks and great mountaines: but because diuerse of hyr most earnest and faithfull followers (as also some Cicophants) haue bin conuerted into sundry of these plants, whereof I haue charge, I will on shew vnto your Maiestie, so many of them as are in sight in these places where you passe.

Behold, gracious Lady, this old Oke, the same was many yeeeres a faithfull follower and trustie seruant of hyrs, named *Constance* whome when shee coulde by none other meanes ouerthrowe, considering that no chaunge coulde creepe into his thoughtes, nor any trouble of passions and perplexities could turne his resolute minde, at length she caused him, as I say, to bee conuerted into this Oke, a strange and cruell metamorphosis. But yet the Heauens haue thus far forth fauoured and rewarded his long continued seruice, that as in life he was unmouable, euen so now all the vehement blasts of the most raging windes can not once moue his rocky body from his rooted place and abyding. But to counteruaile this cruelty with a shewe of iustice, she conuerted his contrarie inconstancie, into yonder Popler, whose leaues moue and shake with the least breath or blast.

As also shee dressed Vaine glory in his right colours, conuerting him into this Ashtree, which is the first of my plants that buddeth, and the first likewise that casteth leafe. For beleeeve mee, most excellent Princesse, Vaineglory may well begin hastily, but seldome continueth long.

Againe she hath well requited that busie elfe *Contention*, whom she turned into this bramble Bryer, the which, as your maiesty may well see, doth euen yet catch and snat[c]h at your garments and euery other thinge that passeth by it. And as for that wicked wretch *Ambition*, she dyd by

* Ahtebasile.—A division of this name into the three words of which it is compounded, will show the writer's direct allusion to the Queen—Ah te basile. (It is a mere anagram for Elizabetha. K.)

good right condemne hym into this braunch of Iuy, the which can neuer clyme on hygh nor florysh without the helpe of some other plant or tree, and yet commonly what tree soeuer it ryse by, it neuer leaueth to wynde about it, and strayghtly to infolde it, untyll it haue smowldred and killed it. And by your leaue, good Queene, such is the vnthankfull nature of cankred ambitious myndes, that commonly they maligne them by whom they haue rysen, and neuer cease vntyll they haue brought them to confusion. Well, notwithstanding these examples of iustice, I will nowe rehearse vnto your Maiesty such a straunge and cruell *Metamorphosis* as I think must needes mooue your noble minde vnto compassion. There were two sworne brethren which long time serued hyr, called *Deepe desire* and *Deue desert*, and although it bee very hard to part these two in sunder, yet is it sayd that she dyd long sithens conuert *Deue desert* into yonder same *Lawrell tree*. The which may very well be so, considering the *Etimologic* of his name, for we see that the *Lawrell braunch* is a token of triumph, in all *Trophies*, and giuen as a reward to all Victors, a dignitie for all degrees, consecrated and dedicate to *Apollo* and the *Muses* as a worthie flower, leafe or braunch, for their due deserts. Of him I will hold no longer discourse, because he was *Metamorphosed* before my tyme, for your Maiestie must vnderstand that I haue not long helde this charge, neyther do I meane long to continue in it: but rather most gladly to followe your Highnesse wheresoeuer you shall become.

But to speake of *Deepe desire* (that wretch of worthies, and yet the worthiest that euer was condemned to wretched estate) he was such an one as neither any delay could daunt him: no disgrace could abate his passions, no tyme could tyre him, no water quench his flames: nor death it self could amase him with terror.

And yet this straunge starre, this courteous cruell, and yet the cruellest courteous that euer was, this *Ahtebasile Zabeta*, or by what name soeuer it shall please your majestie to remember hyr, did neuer cease to vse imprecation, inuocation, coniuration, and meanes possible, vntill she had caused him to be turned into this *Holly bush*, and [as] he was in this life and worlde continually full of compunctions, so is he now furnished on euery side with sharpe pricking leaues, to proue the restlesse prickles of his priue thoughts. Mary there are two kinde of *Holly*, that is to say, he *Holly*, and she *Holly*. Nowe some will say, that she *Holly* hath no prickles, but thereof I entermeddle not.

At these wordes her Maiestie came by a close Arbor, made all of Hollic; and whiles Siluanus pointed to the same, the principall bush shaked. For therein were placed both straunge Musicke, and one who was there appointed to represent deepe Desire. Siluanus, perceiuing the bush to shake, continued thus.

BEHOLDE, most gracious Queene, this *Holly bush* doeth tremble at your presence, and therefore I beleeeve that *Deepe desire* hath gotten leaue of the Gods to speake vnto your excellent Maiestie in their behalfe, for I myselfe was present in the councell chamber of Heauen, when *Desire* was thought a meete messenger to be sent from that conuocation unto your Maiestie as Ambassadour, and giue eare good Queene; me thinkes I hear his voyce.

Herewith Deepe desire spake out of the Holly Bush as followeth.

STAY, stay your hastie steppes,
And heare him talke whose trusty tongue
I am that wretch *Desire*,
Nor dole decay, nor dread delay,
Whom neither care could quench,
And therefore turned into this tree,

O Queene without compare:
consumed is with care,
whom neither death could daunt:
Nor fayned cheere inchant.
nor fancie force to change:
which sight, percase seemes strange.

But when the Gods of Heauen,
 Both Gods of fieldes and forest Gods,
 Determined a dole,
 With wailing words and mourning notes,
 Then thought they meet to chuse
 To tell a tale that might bewray,
 And hence proceedes, O Queene,
 Your learned eares may heare him speake,
 But Queene, beleeue me now,
 Was neuer greefe, as I could gesse,
 As when they heard the newes,
 Would part from hence, and that to prooue,
 For marke what teares they shed,
 It was no rayne, of honestie,
 As first *Diana* wept,
 That all hyr *Nymphes* dyd doubt hyr death,
 Dame *Flora* fell on ground,
 Yea *Pan* dyd breake his Oten pipes,
 Which walke amid these woods,
 And *Ioue* to shew what mone he made,
 O Queene, O worthy Queene,
 Were neuer heard such greevous grones,
 But since they haue decreed,
 In their behalfe shall make their mone,
 Vouchsafe O comely Queene,
 Or still to dwell amongst vs here,
 This Castle and the Knight,
 These woods, these waues, these fowls, these fish,
 Liue here good Queene, liue here,
 Their comfort comes when you approach,
 What fruits this soyle may serue,
 Dame *Ceres* and Dame *Flora* both,
Diana would be glad,
Siluanus and the forrest Gods,
 Yea *Pan* would pipe his part,
 Or els *Apollo* Musicke make,
 And to be short, asmuch
 So much your highnesse here may finde,
 But if your noble mynde,
 Be not content, by me *Desire*,
 Then bende your willing eares,
 And heare what song the Gods themselues
 Give care good gracious Queene,
 That Gods in Heauen, and men on earth,

* v. note, p. xviii.

and Goddesses withall:
 yea, *Satires*, *Nymphes*, and all,
 by course of free consent:
 your partyng to lament.
 me silly wretch *Desire*:
 as much as they requyre.
 that from this *Holly* tree
 whom yet you can not see.
 although I do not sweare:
 which sat their harts so neere.
 that you, O royall Queene,
 it may, full well be seene.
 these fūe dayes past and gone:
 it was great floods of mone.
 such brynish bitter teares:
 hyr face the signe yet beares.
 and brusde hyr wofull breast:
Siluanus and the rest,
 for greefe dyd rore and cry:
 with thundring crackt the skye.
 within these holts* and hilles:
 nor seene such wofull wils,
 that I poore wretch *Desire*
 and comfort thus require.
 yet longer to remayne:
 O Queene commaund againe,
 which keepes the same for you;
 these deere which are your dew.
 you are amongst your friends:
 and when you part it ends.
 thereof you may be sure:
 will with you still indure.
 to meet you in the Chase:
 would follow you apace.
 such daunces as he can:
 and *Mars* would be your man.
 as Gods and men may doo:
 with faith and fauour to.
 resolved by decree,
 perswaded for to be
 vnto my willing note:
 haue taught me now by rote.
 and so you shall perceiue
 are loath such Queenes to leaue.

Herewith the consort of Musicke sounded, and Deepe desire sung this song.

COME Muses come, and helpe me to lament,
 come woods, come waues, come hils, come doleful dales,
 Since life & death are both against me bent,
 come gods come men, beare witnesse of my bales.
 O heauenly Nymphs, come helpe my heauy heart:
 with sighes to see dame pleasure thus depart.

If death or dole, could daunt a deepe desire,
 if priuic pangs could counterpeise my plaint:
 If traet of time a true intent could tire,
 or eramps of eare, a constant minde could taint.
 Oh then might I, at will here liue and serue:
 although my deedes did more delight deserue.

But out alas, no gripes of greefe suffice,
 to breake in twaine this harmelesse heart of mine
 For though delight be banisht from mine eies,
 Yet liues *Desire*, whom paines ean neuer pine.
 O straunge affects, I liue which seeme to die,
 yet die to see my deere delight go by.

Then farewell sweet, for whom I taste such sower;
 farewell delight, for whom I dwell in dole:
 Free will farewell, farewell my fancies flower,
 farewell content whom eruell cares controle.
 Oh farewell life, delightfull death farewell,
 I dye in heauen, yet liue in darksome hell.

¶ *This song being ended, the musicke ceased, and Siluanus concluded thus.*

MOST gracious Queene, as it shoud but cuill haue beseemed a God to be founde, fraudulent or deceiptfull in his speech: so haue I neither reompted nor foretolde any thing vnto your Maiestie, but that which you have nowe founde true by experience, and because the ease is very lamentable, in the conuersion of *Deepe desire*, as also because they knowe that your Maiestie is so highly fauoured of the Gods, that they will not deny you any reasonable request. Therefore I do humbly craue in his behalfe, that you would either be a suter for him vnto the heauenly powers, or else but onely to giue your gracious consent that hee may be restored to his prystinate estate. Whereat your highnesse may be assured that heauen will smile, the earth will quake, men will elap their hands, and I will alwayes continue an humble beseecher for the flourishing estate of your royall person.

Whom God nowe and euer preserue, to his good
 pleasure and our great eomfort.
 Amen.

Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.

FINIS.

INDEX.

By Lord Leigh's kindness I have been enabled to peruse the Stoneleigh Ledger (a very interesting MS. of the 14th Century, which Dugdale had, I think, but imperfectly ransacked) and the reader will find a few results of my examination in the notes to this index.

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* <i>Iyse</i> , or <i>bise</i> .—"The Jawe peces and crestes were karued with Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and <i>Bise</i> . . . the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of <i>Bice</i> and golde . . . and in the hole arche was nothing but fine <i>Bice</i> & golde."— <i>Hall's Chronicle</i> , ed. 1809, p. 722-3, A.D. 1527.	
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† This word is sometimes equivalent to 'parapets' or perhaps 'hourdes.'	
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§ Founded before 1133. See 'Priory.'		plaintiff's former declaration. Thus, in an action for trespassing	
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Century 12th, work of, 1. 13th, work of	2	plaintiff for a term not yet expired.' <i>Kerr's Students' Blackstone</i> ,	
'Chapman of a Peneworth of Wit'	184	p. 376, ed. 1870. (F. J. F.)	
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I suppose, been fitted up for the Queen's use: as beyond doubt,		„ Plays ...	94
the two chapels of the Castle had disappeared. I wrote 'two'		‡ <i>Coventry</i> . . is a faire, famous, sweet, and ancient City, so walled	
here a year since; but a third Chapel has lately been discovered		about with such strength and neatnesse, as no City in England	
in the lower or eastern Bailey near the Water Tower. It has		may compare with it: in the wals (at severall places) are 13 Gates	
been a very fine building, (about 100 ft. by 50 in extreme		and Posterns whereby to enter and issue too and from the City,	
dimensions), dating from the earlier years of Edward the IIIrd,		and on the wals are 18 strong defensible Towers, which do also	
who was here in 1329; it must have disappeared before Dugdale's		beautifie it: in the City is a faire and delicate Crosse, which is	
time, but the fragments are of great beauty. I have little doubt		for structure, beauty, and workmanship, by many men accounted	
that there was also a Chapel of the 13th Century higher up in		unmatchable in this Kingdome; although my selfe, with some	
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centum solidos in recognitione et henrico filio meo unum		Damian, a 'D' for, p. 98	
bizanteum." (The bezant, a pure gold coin, worth nearly 9s. 6d).		Dance tunes. See <i>Complaynt of Scotland</i> .	
To another deed of the same is appended the name of Robert de		Dancing on Sundays	80
Clinton as witness, p. 23, (<i>Stoncleigh 'Ledger'</i>). An Osbert de		'He know to dance on Sundays,' Little Thief. A. iii.	
Clinton is a witness to a marriage deed of Henry de Verdon,		'Daniel's Dreams'	170
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Dudley, Sir Robert, ‡ 43. His change of Religion is not noticed in the text. He leaves England in 1605. For his famous pamphlet on the 'bridling of Parliaments,' see <i>Account of Public Records</i> , by C. P. Cooper, 1832, vol. 1, p. 33, and <i>Rushworth</i> , 1659. App. p. 12. I omitted also his being knighted for gallantry, 1596, at ye Siege of Cadiz.	
‡ His children by Elizabeth Southwell, were Cosmo, d. young:—Carlo—Maria Gouffier, d. of the Due de Rohanet (Picardy)—writes to Ants. Wood, Oct. 17, 1673—d. 1686:—Ambrogio and Antonio, both living in 1638: Ferdinando, a Dominican also then alive:—Enrico alive 1638: another d. young: Anna d. 1629: Maria:—Teresa—the Conte Mario di Carpigna:—a daughter—the Prince of Piombino:—Another—the Marquis of Clivola:—Another—the Duke di Castellan del Lago.—For further descents v. <i>Romance of the Peerage</i> , Vol. iii. (Vaughan Thomas.) Read notice in Colville's 'Warwickshire Worthies.'	
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§ He certainly speaks of the 'large and pleasant pool' as still existing in his day.	
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P. 13. <i>Earning of the hounds</i> .— <i>Earn</i> or <i>Yorne</i> is a term or art: compare <i>Valentine</i> (the Courtier) . . I confesse I am vnskilfull, yet vnlesse I bee much deceaued, I haue hard hounds <i>barke</i> by night, & haue seene foulers ketch Woodcockes in colde weather. <i>Vincent</i> (the Cuntrey-Gentlemen) In deede it may bee you haue hard sumtimes hounds <i>yorne</i> (for so you ought to terme it) by night; and I suppose the winter weather, and hard, is fittest for ketching of Woodcockes in deede. 1586. <i>The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman</i> . p. 55-6, ed. 1868. Roxburghe Library. (F. J. F.)	
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* Of him and his heirs, the <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> says—Cujus Edwardi (I.) frater Edmundus factus fuit Comes Lancastriae et Leycestriae per dictum Henricum regem patrem eorum. Cui scilicet Edmundo predictus H. rex pater ejus dedit castrum de Kenilworth cum pertinentiis. Qui quidem Edmundus duxit in uxorem dominam Blanchiam filiam regis Navarre de qua genuit Thomam comitem Lancastriae, qui Thomas decapitatus est apud Pontefretum, et obiit idem Thomas sine herede de se. Cui Thomae de Lancastria successib in comitatum Lancastriae et	

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Leycestriae et castrum predictum et comitatum Lincolniae frater ipsius Thomae Henricus cognominatus Grosemond Comes de Beufort in partibus transmariis genitus per ipsum Edmundum de dicta Blanchia qui tandem in senili sui aetate caecus effectus est. Qui quidem comes Henricus caecus genuit de uxore sua Henricum qui postea fuit Dux Lancastriae, &c.— <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 55.	
Edward I. at Kenilworth in the 19th year of his reign, 1290, 3rd April. (<i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 77).	
Edward II., a Prisoner, † 39. Murdered, 5. Was here December 26th, 1323.— <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 109.	
† Et habito consilio de omnibus proceribus regni de perturbatione in ipso regno existente decreverunt prefatum Regem a regni solio et ejus gubernatione pro malo suo regimine fore amovendum et prefatum progenitum suum Edwardum de Wyndesore fore in regnum successurum et in regem coronandum. Qui quidem proceres per certas personas eorum nomine apud castrum de Kenilworth missas, quia ibi tunc erat prefatus rex in custodia predicti Henrici comitis homagia sua et servitia sursum reddiderunt et ipsum Regem pro rege suo disclamaverunt, nolentes ipsum ulterius super se debere regnare nec regem nominari. Sed ipsum in custodia ipsius Comitis commorari quousque aliter de ipso duxerint ordinandum.— <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , (temp. Rich. II.) p. 102.	
Three charters of confirmation, &c., were granted by Edward II. to the Abbey of Stoneleigh, and signed at Kenilworth in the 17th and 19th years of his reign. (<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 86, 98, 99).	
Edward III. Among his charters in favour of the Cistercian Monks of Stoneleigh, is one dated Kenilworth, 16th Dec., 1329. (<i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 182. This MS. of Thomas Pype is preserved at the Abbey).	
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‡ There is another canine appetyde; which is, when a man is euer hungry, and is neuer satisfied, nor is not well but when he is eatynge or drynkynge: ignorant men wyll say that such persons hath an <i>eaton</i> in the bely. 1547. <i>Andrew Boorde's Breuiary of Health</i> , Fol. xxv, ed. 1552. F. J. F.	
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* It is impossible to <i>decide</i> whether the original North ditch was filled up before Leicester's time or not; but I think not altogether. This terrace occupies the site.			
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† One is near the Western 'domi,' now filled up: another near the site of the Oriel attached to Lunn's Tower.			
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‡ Henry III. gave the Castle to Edmund, his younger son, who was created Earl of Leicester, Oct. 25, 1265, and of Lancaster, June 31, 1267. Thomas, son of the above Edmund, was beheaded at Pomfret, 1322. In 1217, his brother Henry was restored to his lands and titles. Henry, son of the said Henry was created Earl of Derby, 16 March, 1338; during his father's lifetime and (after his father's death in 1346), was created Earl of Lincoln, 20 August, 1350; and, lastly, Duke of Lancaster, 6 March, 1352. Ten years afterwards he died, leaving two daughters, Maud and Blanch. His lands were shared between them; the former married William, Duke of Bavaria. (The <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> calls her Dutchess of Holland, of Zealand, and Enand or Hainault, p. 55. Note that, though Dugdale (I cite <i>Kenilworth Illustrated</i>) calls her husband William, Duke of Bavaria, I find none of his name in Picot's <i>Tables</i> , till			
William the Constant, in 1508). The latter brought the Castle of Kenilworth to John of Gaunt, with the Dukedom. (Dugdale says he was <i>created</i> Duke, 13 November, 36 Edward III).			
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§ "Some wyll thynke my wyls be geson." <i>lyl of Brentford's Test.</i> , 280.			
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* Cheese, greene, 100. Grene chese is not called grene by the reason of colour, but for the newness of it. A. Boorde, in <i>Babes Book</i> , p. 200.			
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† While at Kenilworth, 1266, Henry III. gave three charters to the Cistercian Abbey at Stoneleigh, in return for damages received by their monks during the siege of the Castle. They were signed August 27; Oct. 7; Oct. 20. A decision also in their favour was signed by him there, Nov. 15.			
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‡ A full account of his purchase is given in <i>Dugdale's Baronage</i> , vol. ii, p. 225.			

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* The course marked in Map 1 is mostly conjectural, though the alterations made in the 2nd Age have left very clear traces: possibly the earlier line has been effaced by house buildings and gardening.	
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† Alban Butler, cites John Rous, and says, (Oct. 13), that Houghtide or Hough-tide is thought to have been formerly kept on the 8th of June, in memory of the great deliverance from the Danes in 830, and that it was celebrated with dancing and drawing cords across the highway to stop people till they paid some money.	
Holborne, Lady, 43, (d. 1663. Her husband was Solicitor-General to Charles the First).	
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‡ Let me add a note from the 'Ledger' of the Monk of Stoneleigh, Thomas de Pype. "Dum graviter inter prefatos reges (Edmund and Knut), ut predicatur, guerra duraret, destituta fuerunt plura castra dieti regis et inter cetera quoddam castrum vocatum Stonehom edificatum infra parochiam de Stone super le homhul iuxta Avenum ex opposito bosci de Eachelus. Cujus locum nunc occupat et tenet hereditarie Willelmus Staleworthie ut parcellam de Kenilworthe, et de parochia de Kenyll. Quae quidem parochia at Villa de Kenill antiquis temporibus fuerunt parcellae mauerii et parochiae de Stone." MS. of the time of Richard II., procured at Stoneleigh. 'The 'Ledger.'	
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§ Holly Rood Day.—This festival was instituted on account of the recovery of a large piece of the Cross by the Emperor Heraclius, after it had been taken away, on the plundering of Jerusalem, by Cosroes, King of Persia, about 615. <i>Brand</i> , l. 200. Ed. <i>Haslitt</i> . (F. J. F.) Read ' <i>Iustorum Semita</i> , Vol. ii. pp. 422, 440, for some further details.	
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There were many 'fords' in the neighbourhood—all the river basins shewed long lines of fishing 'vivaria' or 'meres,' and, where these were interrupted, 'gurgites' or fishing reaches—and here and there between them came the cross embankments over which the surplus water of the meres found its way. Our brook was called Kenilworth-broke in the 14th Century.— <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 55.	
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* "My wife is learning now Sir, to weave inkle." Scornfull Lady. (A very poor occupation).	
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† "At Islington ther's Pudding-pies, Hot Custards."— <i>Martin Parker's New Medley</i> , ii. K.) Imagine Islington to be the place, The Journey to eat cream, ab. 1616. R. C. Crine's Whistle, l. 250-2-3. (F. J. F.)	
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‡ "The wild Ivy Spreads and thrives better in some piteous ruin Of Tower, or defaced Temple, than it does Planted by a new building."— <i>Fair Maid of the Inn</i> , A. v.	

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Jambs. One of the oven jambs remains in the Kitchen wall	25
John, King. § Sums expended under.	
§ A charter of King John granted in the 5th year of his reign, speaks of a reservation—"Salvo inde debito servitio Castello de Kenelworthe, si quod inde debetur." <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , p. 30, 108, p. 241. Thus, it seems, the Clintons had the Castle in 1203, or probably the charter would have read nostrum (nū) as three lines before.	
'Julian of Braintford's Testament'	176
Jump 	112
"For soth, maystres, here is Jomp four and twenty." <i>Ily of Brentford's Testament</i> , 213.	
Karvel	80
Keep, Norman	Pref.
" of Kenilworth repaired, 19. Its date	1, 19, 35
" Roof of	19, 35
" Its strength	23
" How treated by Leicester	20
" Its dimensions	19
" Dismantled	21
" Its Yard	21
Kenilworth-brook, v. Inehford-brook	9
Kenelm, St. and King	74, 85
Kenilworth. * Inhabitants impressed	21
* By the Cong. Survey, it appears, that this which now beares onely the name of Kenilworth, was then in two parts; the one called Optone, (i.e. up—or Hightown), certified to contain three hides, being then held immediately of the King by Albertus Clericus in pure Almes; upon which were resident two Priests: the woods whereof conteyned half a mile in length, and four furlongs in breadth; this being that part of Kenilworth which now the Inhabitants call the High Town, and situate upon the ascent on the north part of the Church. But the other, which in the same Record is written Chinewrde, and possest by Rich. Forestarius, did then contain no more than three virgats, besides the woods, which were certified to be half a mile in length, and four furlongs in breadth. "Hæc duo membra" (saith Doomsday Book) "jacent ad Stanlei manerium Regis."	
Kenilworth, Name	3
" Castle, a good type of its class	1
" Described by Laneham	73
" Church-plate	43
" Dietum de	59, 38
"Kenilworth Illustrated"	3, 5, 6, 25
'King, The, and the Tanner,' 138. That did not know his own wife	148
King's Chamber	15
'King's Evil' (v. <i>Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia</i> , Vol. iii.)	96
Kitchen, Norman	Pref.
" 13th Century	25
" Chimney, 13th Century	25
'Knight, The, of Courtesy'	126
Knight's Fee	3
Knights made	96
Kniveton, 43, (died 1663)	
Lady of the Lake	6, 95
Lamprey	85
'Lamwell, Syr'	129
Lancaster, Edmund=Blanche of Navarre. Thomas their Son, beheaded.	
† Henry, their Son, surnamed 'Grosemound,' born beyond the seas, became blind in his old age.	
† This Henry, says the <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger'</i> , had by his wife, Henry, who was afterwards Duke of Lancaster, the Lady de la Wake, and the Lady de 'Beumoūd,' who married Richard, Earl of Arundel; also the Lady de Moubray and the Lady de Percy. The latter Henry had by Isabella his wife, daughter of Lord 'Beumoūd,' two daughters, Isabella, duchess of Holland, of Zealand and Enand (? Hainault), who died without issue, and Blanche who married John of Gaunt. v. 'Edmund.'	
Laneham, R. His gratitude to Leicester	113
" Notice of	67, 117

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Laneham, R. His description of the Garden ...	64
" His mistake ...	31
" His list of Books ...	119
Leam ...	80
Le Duc ...	11, 16, 19, 24, 57, 63
Leicester. For his patronage of Chess, see <i>Wright's Domestic Manners</i> , p. 213.	
" His changes ...	9, 13, 17, 19, 21, 32, 39, 64
" Changes the level of Keep-yard (?) ...	21
" His Life, &c. ...	40, &c.
" His Religious profession * ...	41
* Leicester, who proved himself at home, according to Fuller, the 'Patron-General of the non-subscribers,' insisted while in Holland, on the most rigorous adherence to the Belgic confession. <i>Brautl</i> , i. 405. He was recalled in 1588 (<i>Ibid.</i> p. 423), the year when English politicians were relieved from the necessity of entering into alliance with foreign Protestants by the defeat of the Invincible Armada.— <i>Hardwick's Reformation</i> , 2nd Ed. p. 164.	
Leicester. His Expences ...	46, &c.
Leicester's Building ...	30, 64
Lesceline, v. 'Clinton.'	
Lestrangle, Sir R. † ...	95
† This Book of merry passages and jests was collected by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange of Hunstanton, Bart., who died in 1669. (F. J. F.)	
Lettice, Lady Essex, ‡ 42. (1578 perhaps is the right date for her marriage, but Leicester left his wife for her earlier. Mr. Vaughan Thomas says 1576, but he gives this date also for Simier's disclosure of it, whereas, Camden certainly puts this in 1579. Lady Essex died in 1624.)	
‡ It was a master-piece on her part, says Mr. Vaughan Thomas, and on that of her advisers, (of whom Sir Edward Cooke was one) to bring an action against Sir Robert and his wife, against Lady Sheffield, his mother (at that time Lady Stafford), against Sir Thomas Leigh, his wife's father, and all the principal witnesses in Sir Robert Dudley's suit, for a conspiracy against the person and property of Letitia, Dowager Countess of Leicester.	
Lever, T. § ...	45
§ See <i>Colville's 'Warwickshire Worthies'</i> p. 508.	
Leveson, Lady, 43, (died 1673.)	
Lewes, Battle of ...	38, 59
Lice or Foreclose ...	12
The ground rises rapidly towards the West: and the footing of the wall rises with it. Leicester's gardening and more recent alterations have laid bare rough walling which is not quite easy to understand.	
Lift in Keep, 22, 60. At Castle Rising and Norwich	24
Lime, conveyance of ...	2
Lincation, Mural, 37. Fragments of ...	18, 19
Lintel, Wooden, 16, (13th Century.) 16th Century	30
Lichfield Castle ...	3
Livery ...	113
Livery Pots ...	77
Lobby, Dudley's, 17. Gaunt's ...	29
London, Tower of ...	1
Loophole, * 12th Century. 13th Century, 9, 12, 15. 17th Century, 30	
* My readers will see that a loophole gives us a casemate or embrasure for an archer to stand in, with a stone screen in front of him. Now 1.—If the tower has a projecting base, it is clear that the builder, by giving to the sill a sufficiently steep slant, and splaying out the lower parts of the jambs, will enable the archer inside to rake the base with a moderate lateral range of fire, (by simply cutting short the screen aforesaid, and leaving a space between it and the sill), without any great exposure of the soldier inside.—Examine the Keep for these. 2.—The next improvement shews us a cross aperture near the head of the arrow-slit; which possibly gave increased facilities for the cross-bow, in spite of the jambs inside, but more probably only gave greater range of sight, (and was, I think, cut <i>after</i> the wall was finished). But with this 2nd stage at Kenilworth we have the hoard-holes making their first appearance. The lower casemates in Lunn's Tower are very curious and interesting. 3.—The hoard soon gave confidence. By its liftable shutter it protected the archer on	

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the battlements, and by its trap doors it enabled the defenders to rake the tower-base. The military engineers of Kenilworth, therefore, accepted a new shape of the arrow-slit early in the 13th Century, and gave to it (as in the Water Tower) the elegant form that theatrical scene painters affect. They also set it aslant in the wall to command some particular point, a postern gate, causeway, &c., as a fragment found here proves. (An intermediate kind is seen in Mortimer's Tower.) Afterwards we have later forms in John of Gaunt's work; and the latest of all (in the Queen's Chamber and the cellars of Leicester's Building) are insertions of Charles the First's Reign. This subject is well worth attention. A careful study of the earlier specimens will convince anyone (if there <i>be any</i> unconvinced by the original Moat) that our great Keep is anterior to Lunn's Tower. Now this is clearly earlier than the squinch arches that cross from it to the wall of the enceinte; and these again are purely Norman. What then becomes of the theory that the Keep was built in King John's Reign? On other points I have spoken sufficiently elsewhere.	
Loober woorts ...	86
Lunn ...	14, 15
Lunn's Tower† ...	1, 8, 11, 15
† I attribute the destruction of Lunn's Tower to gunpowder. The walls have been wrenched into four parts by some great explosion? (165—). It is worth while to notice the extremely poor walling of this tower; hardly any mortar was used in building it, and the basement is very badly formed. The outer wall has been cased at different times, and shews in <i>one</i> part at least stones clamped with iron ties. Some years after Lunn's Tower was built, its 'gorge' and the whole of its interior were re-modelled; a casemate on the ground floor was filled up, and a window inserted, with a new door on to the N. wall.	
'Lucres and Euryalus' ...	134
Lynn, King's ...	40
Maid Marion ...	86
Main-courante ...	16
Malmesbury, Wm. of ...	74
Maltravers, Sir J. ...	5
Mangonel ‡ ...	14, 56, 57
‡ Gainus grounden aryght. gonne they dryve, Stones stirred they tho. and stightliche layde On hur engines full gist. to ungomme the walles. Thei craked the counales. with carefull dyntes That spedly to-sprong. and sprad beside. Alisander of Macedoine, 292-296.—"Javelins ground aright they began to drive. Then they lifted stones. and laid them right justly on their engines. to unman the walls. They cracked the Creuelles. with woeful blows. that quickly split asunder, and were scattered alongside."	
Manor, § 33. Granted to Officers ...	39
§ Of the original grant we read—"Predictus Rex Henricus existens in possessione totius manerii de Stonle cum membris (viz.:—Kenillworthe, Bakyingtone, Ruytone et Startone), dedit Galfrido de Glynton Normanno camerario suo quoddam membrum dicti manerii de Stonl quod quidem membrum vocatur Kenilworthe sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum. In quo quidem membro Ricardus forestarius tenuit tres virgatas terrae in feodum de rege prout continetur in libro de Doumsday (see <i>Dugdale</i>) sic continetur. In Chyneworthe Ricardus forestarius habet tres virgatas terrae de rege. Ibi sunt x. villani & octo borilli (=broili) cum tribus carris. Silva ij leucarum longitudinem habet et iij quartarum latitudinem. haec duo membra jacent apud Stonle manerium Regis. Qui quidem Galfridus de Glyntone in predicta silva de Kenilworthe edificavit et fundavit prioratum Canonicorum quibus dedit in fundacionem totum de Kenylworthe, excepto castro et parco. prout inferius plenius dicitur in libro ubi agitur de Kenylworthe." On the 162p.—"Quiquidem Galfridus de Glyntone habita possessione dicti hameletti fecit sibi in dicta silva unum castrum cum parco et pertinentiis."— <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger.'</i>	
Mantlet ...	62.
Manual of John Gysborn ...	193
Marchlond ...	74
Market or Mercate ...	33
Marshes ...	6, 9
Masonry, Norman ...	10, 20
Masons' Marks ...	55
Mass said daily ...	32

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Mercia or Marchlond, 74. See Florence of Worcester, app. ad Chronicum, in Monumenta Hist. Brit. p. 643. C.— Thomas de Pipe (Monk of Stoneley, temp. Richard II.) gives Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Cheshire, part of Lancashire, Shropshire, Hereford, Oxford, Bucks, Huntingdon, half Bedfordshire, Northants, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire.	
Merlon fine, Early, 13th Century ...	12, 15
Mervyn's Tower ...	23
Military Science, Revolution in ...	57
Mills* ...	8
* One of the mills over the Millbrook has left parts of a basement chamfer or two balanced on a tree root.	
Millbrook † ...	7
† From the N. E. Watch Tower of the 'Brays' ran a lower dam eastward, to the hill side across the Millbrook, to keep up the ditch water at the 2nd level. Below are still (perhaps) remains of the sluice gate for the water to issue into the valley from the lower channel. From here ran the artificial bank of the Abbey pool eastward. See note on Abbey pool.	
Millrace ...	7
Minstrel ...	97
Mischief done by John of Gaunt, 20, 21, 23, &c. By others ...	65, 66
Moats, changes in, 17, 89. Eastern ...	17
,, Norman, Original, crossed by Elizabeth, see Fosse	
Montfort, Simon de ‡ ...	1, 2, 4, 38, 58
‡ His name occurs as witness to a charter granted 1256, by Henry III. to the monks of Stoneleigh, (Ledger, p. 39); and see a letter to him from Adam de Marisco, in <i>Brewer's Monumenta Franciscana</i> .	
Montfort, Simon de, lowered curtain walls ...	2, 12, 15, 36, 56
,, The Younger ...	
Morris dance ...	87
Mortar, Deficiency of § ...	2
§ Very striking in Lunn's Tower, which has been in great measure re-cased at various times.	
Mortimer's Tower ...	2, 7, 8, 13, 63
Mortimer, Roger ...	4, 13
,, John ...	
Motto, 'Vivit, &c.' ...	14
Mounds ...	18
Mullions, Wooden ...	20
Mural Lineation ...	18, 19
Music Gallery ...	26
Musical Instruments ...	2
See an interesting note in Mr. Furnivall's edition of <i>Laneham</i> , pp. 65, seq.	
'My bony on gave me a bek' ...	194
Nevilles, Cognizance of the ...	40
Newel ...	16
Nippitate* ...	93
* <i>Pompiona, Princess of Moldavia</i> . Oft have I heard of your brave countrymen, And fertile soil, and store of wholesome food. My father oft will tell me of a drink In England found, and <i>Nipitate</i> call'd, Which driveth all the sorrow from your hearts. <i>Ralph</i> . Lady, 'tis true: you need not lay your lips To better <i>Nipitate</i> than there is. Beaumont and Fletcher, <i>Knight of the Burning Pestle</i> , Act iv, Scene 2, <i>Works</i> , ed. Darley, 1840, vol. ii, p. 90, col. 2. (Mr. Furnivall).	
Normanville, Ralph de ...	35
Norman Embrasure ...	12, 13
,, Tower destroyed by Leicester ...	
North wall demolished ...	11
Nose, curtasye in wifing ...	87
Notched timbers ...	15
'Nu Gize' ...	187
'Nutbroun Mayd' ...	157
Nyes. ("Your pale seekes and hollow nyes." The Little Thief, Act iv.) a vulgarism ...	83
Obliquity in Dugdale's Plan ...	31

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'Oliver of the Castle' ...	133
Ombrey ...	92
'One hart one way.' Bacon's Motto ...	111
Oriel of Hall ...	27
Oriel to King's Chamber † ...	15, 36, 56
† I copy note and text from <i>Kenilworth Illustrated</i> . In 19. H. 3, the then Shiriff accounted o6li. 16s. o4d. for a fair and beautifull boat to lye neer the dore of the King's great Chamber, here. The words of the original, as appear by Dugdale's own extracts in the Ashmolcan Museum, are "in uno oriollo pulcro et competenti ante hostium magne camere Regis in Castro de K. faciendo vjli. xvjs. iiijd;" evidently shewing that the money was expended on a fair and sufficient oriel, porch, or entrance, to the King's chamber, and not in providing a boat, as Sir William very unaccountably supposes.	
Oriel of State room ...	17, 29
'Over a whinny Meg' ...	194
Overseen. Oversight ‡ ...	92
‡ Cp. the use of the simple verb in such phrases as "Philo, a Jew well seen, i.e. well learned in that story."—(<i>Hammond's Practical Catechism</i> , 1 & 2.)	
Owners of the Castle ...	3, 4, 5
Packsaddle Bridge ...	9
Padlock ...	20
Palace, in 3rd Age ...	3
Palisade, Norman, 1, 31. Exchanged for Stone Walls ...	1, 63.
Pannell § ...	82
§ Pannell 82. 'It is an English word, and signifieth a little Part; for a <i>Pane</i> is a part, and a <i>Pannel</i> a little part (as a pannel of wainscot, a Pannel of a saddle, and a <i>Pannell</i> of a Parchment, wherein the Jurors names are written and annexed to the writ;) and a Jury is said to be im-pannelled when the Sheriff hath entered their names into the <i>Pannell</i> , or little piece of Parchment, in <i>Pannello assise</i> . Cook on Lit. Lib. 2. c. 2. Sect. 234. <i>The Law-French Dictionary</i> &c., 1701. (F. J. F.)	
Pantry or Bread Closet ...	25, 27
Paradise ...	110
Parapet ...	10
Parcae, The ...	106
Park ...	33, 36
Parker's Domestic Architecture, 14, 29. Mistake of ...	29
Parson's Commonwealth ...	44, 45
Paved Way ...	6
P'auuage ...	35
Peché succeeds the Templars at Temple Balsall ...	33
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Petrariae or Perrières, 2, 14, 15, 56, 57, v. Mangonels ...	
Pigeon holes ...	16
Pipe Rolls ...	34, 35, &c.
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Plaster Work, 13th Century, 18, 19. Leicester ...	29
Platform, Hawksworth's ...	11, 13
,, for Cannon ...	
Players, Leicester's, 69, 48. (N. & Q. III. S. xi. 350.	
Pleasaunce, 18, 31. En Marys ...	31, 39
Pool, Upper ...	7
The following (possibly the latest) incidental notice of our great Kenilworth Vivarium seems worth quoting.— "And the same Gesner observes, that a maid in Poland had a pike bit her by the foot, as she was washing clothes in a pond. And I have heard the like of a woman in Killingworth pond, not far from Coventry." <i>Isaac Walton, the Complete Angler</i> , Ch. viij., 4th day. Every thing conspires to prove that Leicester had drained the smaller pool before 1575.	
Pool, Lower ...	1, 8, 9, 15, 39, 57
,, Priory* ...	
* The small circular eminence marked in Map I. on the bank of the brook (near K.) seems to me, after careful consideration, to be an isolated remnant of the Eastern bank of the Priory Pool, saved from utter destruction by tree-roots. I may here add that the meadow to the South of the road is called the Pan (or Pant) meadow, just as at St. Bees, the site of the Abbey Fish Ponds is called 'the Pants.' As the road from Warwick crosses the bridge	

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below 'Castle Grove,' another small piece of the Priory Pool embankment may be seen on the right close to the hedge. Part of a cross or partition embankment lies a few yards to the North.	
Porch, Gateway Tower	13, 21
Porphyry, Laneham's blunder	31
Portal, North	19, 63
" East	21
" to Hall	26
Portcullis	21, 26
'Posic,' Leicester's	14
Postern Gates	8, 17
Presence Chamber	14
Prices in 1173	34
Principe Negro, El	73
Prior's Fields	8, 33
Privy Tower	17, 29
" Chamber	14, 29
" Chambers. See Garderobe	
Priory Buildings, 2. Privileges of, 9. Church	32
" of Dover	35
" of Kenilworth. The Charter of, 9. Contained at length in the <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger,'</i> p. 162.*	
* It differs from the copy of the Kenilworth Cartulary, Harl. MS. 3650, p. 1, (as given in <i>Kenilworth Illustrated</i> , p. 3.) in a few particulars.	
For "Niueham" it gives "Neyvenham."	
For "Concessi quoque iis ecclesiam de Wottona, i. hidam terrae, Concessi etiam eis ecclesiam de Wottona cum omnibus quae ad eam pertinent, scilicet in ipsa Wottona unam hidam terrae, &c."	
For "quas ei adquisivi"—"quas eis adquisive."	
For " <i>Quod supradictos</i> Canonicos et has prefatas libertates quas eis concessi manutenerit et sustentaverit, divinam gratiam et benedictionem, quam pater potest filio conferre, ipsi et successoribus suis <i>ad ipsum conservantibus in eternum relinquo.</i> " (K. J.)	
We have—"Quod si ipsos Canonicos et has prefatas—ipsi et successoribus suis <i>id ipsum</i> —"	
For "Ricardus de Corneris," we have "Ricardus de Corneris."	
In fact we have, it seems to me, sense for nonsense.	
Let me note here from the <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger,'</i> or Chronicle of Thomas Pype, 1329, the beginning of a licence from Gregory IX. A.D. 1228. Gregorius IX.—Ep̄e Servus Servorum dei dilectis filiis priori et conventui de Kenilworth ordinis Sancti Augustini Coventr' dyocesis Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.	
It is evident that the Priory (which, according to the compiler of the <i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger,'</i> p. 162, was founded on the same day as the Castle), must have been founded before 1133, because it bears the name of Nigel, who in that year became Bishop of Ely.	
His uncle, Roger, however, is by mistake written 'Robert.'	
Provisioning	34, 60
'Proud wives Paternoster'	182
Pugin, 27. His mistake	25, 26
Put-log holes	2, 15
Quarterly Review	41, 45
Queen's Chamber	15, 16, 37, 63
" Entrance (of Elizabeth.)	79
" Standing Ground	80
Quentin, S., Battle of	40
Quintain	85, 87
Raby, Chapel at	32
Ragged Staff	15, 77
Rampan, Hugo de	35
Recess in Western Wall	10, 18
" Hall	27
Recorder	78
Redfen or Wridfen	8, 16
" Lane	6
'Reyd Eyttytyn, The'	200
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Revolution in Military Science	57
Reynolds 'Gods Revenge'	30
Richard the Second	39
Risings, Castle	23
Roads, Warwick, 6. Birmingham, 6. Coventry, 6. State of, 6, 7, 13	
'Robert le Diable'	199
'Robin Hood'	141
Robinson, Essay on Military Architecture	7, 11, 12, 22
Robsart, Amy, 25, 42, 44. Sir John†	
† Mr. Colville says, 'of Sheen, in Surrey,' omitting his Norfolk residence and property at Stanfield Hall, &c.	
Rochester Castle	20
Romances, 119, &c. Scotch	198
Roofs of Keeps	Pref.
" Lunn's Tower	15
Rosemary, 86. "Pray take a piece of Rosemary."	
Elder Brother, A. III. Sc. 4.	
Round Table, ‡ v. Tournament	8, 101
‡ "Nor Roger Mortimer's ruffe, who first begun, as Arthur's heire, to keepe the Table Round, could not confort my heart, or cause me come on ground," p. ix.—(See fragment of Sir Lancelot, XI., in Mr. Furnival's <i>Forewords</i> , App. II.)	
Dugdale says, out of Walsingham (15th Century) and N. Frivet, (d. 1328). "The same year I find (1279) that there was a great and famous concourse of noble persons here at Kenilworth, called the Round Table, consisting of an hundred Knights, and as many Ladies; whereunto divers (militia multa nimis) repaired from foreign parts for the exercise of Arms and Tiltng, and martiall Tournaments; and the ladies dancing, who were clad in silken mantles, Roger Mortimer, E. of March, being the chief and the occasion thereof, which exercises began on the eve of St. Matthew the Apostle (Sept. 20), and continued till the morrow after Michaelmas Day (Sept. 30); the reason of the Round Table being to avoyd contention touching precedence, a custom of great antiquity and used by the Antient Gauls, as Mr. Camden in Hants. from Athenaeus (an approved author) observes. (Athen. Deipnosoph. l. iv).	
A fixed number of Knights used to hold the 'Round Table' who, ere they jousted, ate at a Common Table, made round to avoid questions of precedence. Certainly, (says Du Cange,) an old Gallic custom, alleged by some to have been restored by Arthur, though the table, attributed to him and preserved at Winchester, is of much more recent times. Albericus, An. 1234, tells how many Barons of Flanders, while keeping a 'Table Round,' were induced to take up the Cross.	
The History of the Priory of Wigmore says of Sir Roger Mortimer—"Elated by the splendour of his military honours, he took with him at his own not light expence to the tournament of Kenilworth, 100 Knights and as many ladies—a Tournament solemnly ordered & held for 3 (? 10) consecutive days, and the like of which had never been seen in England. And there he set on foot the Round Table; and on the 4th day he took to Warwick the Lion of gold, (which as the mark and prize of victory had been adjudged to him) and the aforesaid company at his own proper expence. See more in Du Cange, s. v.	
'Rous, Friar'	139
Royal Owners	3, 4, 5
" Visits	5, 6
Ruins, Destroyers of	55, 56
'Rumming, Elynor'	156
Ryens, King	102
'Sack ful of news'	150
Sallyport	10, 18
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Salvage Man	81
'Sargant that became a Fryar'	150
Secret Room	30
Sections of Basements, 56. Of Chapel Splays	32
Segrave, Gilbert de §	38
§ He and his son Stephen were benefactors of the Cistercian Abbey at Stoneleigh.	
Setting Stick	97
'Seven Sorrows of Women'	182
'Seven Wise Masters'	145

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Shalm *	76	Swan Tower	2, 11
" Let me refer my reader to a very interesting note on Musical Instruments in Mr. Furnivall's edition of <i>Laneham's Letter</i> . It is taken from a MS. Commonplace Book of Sir P. Leicester, in the possession of Lord de Tabley.		Talbot, Gilbert. His Letter	42
'Shepherd's Kalender'	157	Tenny	99
Sheriff's Accounts	34, 35, &c.	Temple Balsall	33
'Ship of Fooles'	163	Tent, The Queen's	112
Shingles	Pref.	Terrace	110, 31
Shoouelars. Shovellers. <i>Anas Clypeata</i> .		Tête du Pont	7
See <i>Babes Book</i> , p. 153, 214. (F. J. F.)		Thorn Trees	26
Shuckburgh, Sir R. †	39	Throckmorton, Sir, N. §	41
† See <i>Colville's Warwickshire Worthies</i> , p. 689.		§ See <i>Mr. Colville's Warwickshire Worthies</i> , p. 746. Parsons avers that Leicester poisoned him.	
Shutters to Queen's Chamber	15	Tiles	14, 34
" in Hall	27	Tiltyard	7, 17, 75
" Recess	18	Timber Buildings	2, 7, 15, 36
Syde (or Side)	79	Tine. Short-prong	78
Siege	58, 60	Titubate=to Stumble	88
Simier, Baron de	41	Tonsword	92
Siege of Kenilworth Castle ‡		Two-hand sword occurs in the play of 'The Elder Brother.'	
‡ Quibus (<i>i.e.</i> Symone de Monte forti, et aliis proceribus) occisis idem Henricus Rex obsedit castrum de Kenyllworthe cum duobus filiis Edwardi et Edmundo et multis terrae magnatibus.		Tornes, Pont de, or 'Pons Tornitius'	37
In quo quidem castro fuerunt tunc ex parte dicti Symonis Montis fortis Comitibus Leycestriae pro munitione et castri custodia Dominus Henricus de Hasting Dominus Johannes Hasting Dominus Ricardus de Amundevyle, et Dominus Johannes de la Ware et Dominus le Verdone dominus de Braundon cujus castrum apud Braundon fuit tunc destructum.		Tourberville	81
<i>Stoneleigh 'Ledger,'</i> (1392, A.D.) p. 35.		Tournament, 8. See <i>N. Q.</i> , IV. Sec. VI. p. 359	
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Strickland, Miss	85, &c.	† Was not this a shaft to a latrine or Garde-robe? There is a similar one near the site of the Oriel to Linn's Tower, v. 'Garde-robe pit.'	
String Courses, Norman	21, 25	Whirlpool, 110. A kind of Whale ‡	
" 14th Century	21	‡ Whirlpoolz, 52, ? the <i>balena</i> of "The Noble Lyfe," <i>Babes Book</i> , p. 232. That it was a sort of whale, see 'Tinot' m. The Whall tearmed a Horlepoole or Whirlepoole. Cotgrave, cited in <i>B. B.</i> index, p. 129. The Whirle poole, a sea monster; <i>Sedenette</i> , <i>phycterre</i> , <i>horepole</i> , <i>mulasse</i> , <i>tinot</i> ; Un pesce mostroso del mare; <i>Pesce monstruoso marino</i> . Howel. (F. J. F.)	
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Window in Keep	...	20, 22	'Worth,' meaning of, 3, 75. Termination in. (An error has crept into	
„ Early Norman	...	10, 17	the text, it should have been said that more than 150 towns and	
„ in Hall	...	27	villages have this word as the whole or as part of their names.)	
„ in Oriel	...	27	Wreast	99
„ in Domus	...	18	Wroxull, Richard de, Constable of Kenilworth in 1277. (<i>Stoneleigh</i>	
Volfe (?) of the warldis end	...	200	'Ledger.')	
Wood cut down on Coventry Road	...	6, 39	Yorne. See 'Earning'	
Wooden Lintels	...	16, 30	'Youth and Charitee'	185
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ERRATA.

PAGE	3 l. 12—for 'forty or' read 'a hundred and.'
„	4 l. 9—for '5' read '2.'
„	5 ll. 24 and 28—for 'See.' read 'Se.' (bis)
„	7 last l. but four—for 'v.' read 'see.' last l. but two—for 'baserelief' read 'bas-relief.'
„	11 last l. but seven—for 's. c.' read 's. v.'
„	12 last l. but eight—for 'Appendix 6.' read 'p. 56.'
„	16 l. 20—for 'latter' read 'lower.'
„	18 l. 11—add 'It was a garde-robe shaft.'
„	23 l. 4—for 'casements' read 'casemates.'
„	24 l. 23—for 'arrainged' read 'arranged.'
„	34 last l. but one—for 'lb' read 'a lb.'
„	40 last l.—for '1595' read '1579.'
„	46 last l.—supply Xs
„	47 l. 5—supply vs 1. 22—supply is
„	57 last l. but three—for 'Chauce's' read 'Chaucer's.'
„	89 note §— for 'maarked' read 'marked.'
„	98 l. 5—for 'A.D.' read 'a D.'
„	101 last l. but cleven—for 'Ival' read 'lvel.'
„	116 l. 4—for 'commād' read 'commēd.'
„	120 last l. but seven—for 'Camplaynt' read 'Complaynt.' (bis)
„	130 last l. but eight—for 'Lybeaus Discours' read 'Lybeaus Disconus.'
„	139 last l. but nine—for 'in T.at the V. on the 3 Cr Wharfe' read 'in Tame strete at the Vintre on the thre Crane Wharfe.'
„	157 last l. but seventeen—for 'xxiv' read '125.'
„	192 l. 12—for 'LII.' read 'LIII.'
„	195 l. 17—for BALLADS' read 'ALMANACKS.'





